

July 20 1996

Monday May 20 1996

Albania L 2.50	Spain 1.00
Andorra FF 10	Sweden S 7.00
Austria S 2.50	Switzerland F 2.00
Bahrain B 0.25	Taiwan NT 2.00
Bangladesh T 1.00	Thailand B 1.00
Belgium BF 1.00	Turkey TL 1.00
Bulgaria B 1.00	USA US\$ 2.00
Canada C 1.00	Zimbabwe Z\$ 2.00
Czech Republic KC 1.00	
Denmark D 1.00	
Egypt E 1.00	
France F 1.00	
Germany DM 3.00	
Greece G 1.00	
Hong Kong HK\$ 2.50	
India IN 1.00	
Indonesia Rp 1.00	
Israel IS 1.00	
Italy L 1.00	
Japan Y 1.00	
Korea K 1.00	
Latvia LV 1.00	
Lithuania LT 1.00	
Malaysia M 1.00	
Malta M 1.00	
Norway N 1.00	
Norway NK 1.00	
Poland P 1.00	
Portugal P 1.00	
Romania R 1.00	
Saudi Arabia R 1.00	
Slovenia S 1.00	
Spain S 1.00	
Sweden S 1.00	
Switzerland S 1.00	
Taiwan T 1.00	
Thailand T 1.00	
Turkey T 1.00	
USA US\$ 2.00	
Zimbabwe Z\$ 2.00	

# The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 46,557

Television's last taboo

## When the Queen Mother dies...

G2 with European weather



Richard Brooks on a working class icon

## Secrets, lies and Mike Leigh

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Media

## Michael Kinsley's plans for cyberspace

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# Tories probe Serb links to funding

Patrick Wintour, Chief Political Correspondent

**T**HE damaging secrecy surrounding the Conservative Party's funding re-emerged to blight John Major yesterday when the party chairman, Brian Mawhinney, was forced to order a full investigation into allegations that Serbian-born businessmen had given £100,000 to party funds.

The internal inquiry came as the CBI's incoming chairman, Sir Colin Marshall, urged British executives to stop using corporate cash to fund the Tories, and a survey for the Guardian showed financial support for the party from Britain's biggest compa-

nies had collapsed. It was also confirmed that accountant Touche Ross told the Tory party in July 1993 that £355,000 it had been given by fugitive tycoon Asif Nadir had been stolen from his company.

Both opposition parties claimed it would be one of the most serious scandals of this parliament if Mr Mawhinney's investigation confirmed that Serbs with links to the Serbian war leader Radovan Karadzic had indeed given cash to the Tory party in the midst of the Balkan conflict.

The investigation was prompted by a Sunday Times story — hotly denied by one of the businessmen involved — claiming a donation from a British-based Serbian entrepreneur had been made of "less than £100,000" and was regarded as so sensitive that it was reported to security services, the Cabinet office and Mr Major.

The second donation of £50,000 from a second businessman in late 1994 was — according to the Sunday Times — arranged by the known acquaintance of Karadzic, John Kennedy, a Tory candidate.

Jeremy Hanley, the party chairman at the time, conceded yesterday he had met the businessmen in a Mayfair club at the instigation of Mr Kennedy, but refused — as a matter of principle — to turn to page 2, column 8



# US prolonged Bosnian war

Ed Vulliamy in Washington

**T**HE CIA and the intelligence agency which manages satellite surveillance said secretly at the onset of the Bosnian war that 96 per cent of Serb artillery around Sarajevo could be wiped out by a single day of air strikes.

This explodes the myth, often cited by US intelligence, that it had no visual images of early violence in Bosnia, and that the war took America by surprise in an uncharted zone.

The Guardian has uncovered a secret briefing by the CIA and National Security Agency to a lone diplomat at the state department at the end of the bloody month of May 1992. The diplomat describes how he was shown aerial photographs revealing the guns around the Bosnian capital to be completely exposed.

He dispatched an urgent "action memo" to his superiors, but received no reply, and was later reproached for sending it.

Weeks later, another CIA briefing to the Senate foreign relations committee said air strikes against the Serbs would be "impossible". The dichotomy illustrates the duplicitous and ferocious backstage struggle in Washington over how to handle the war.

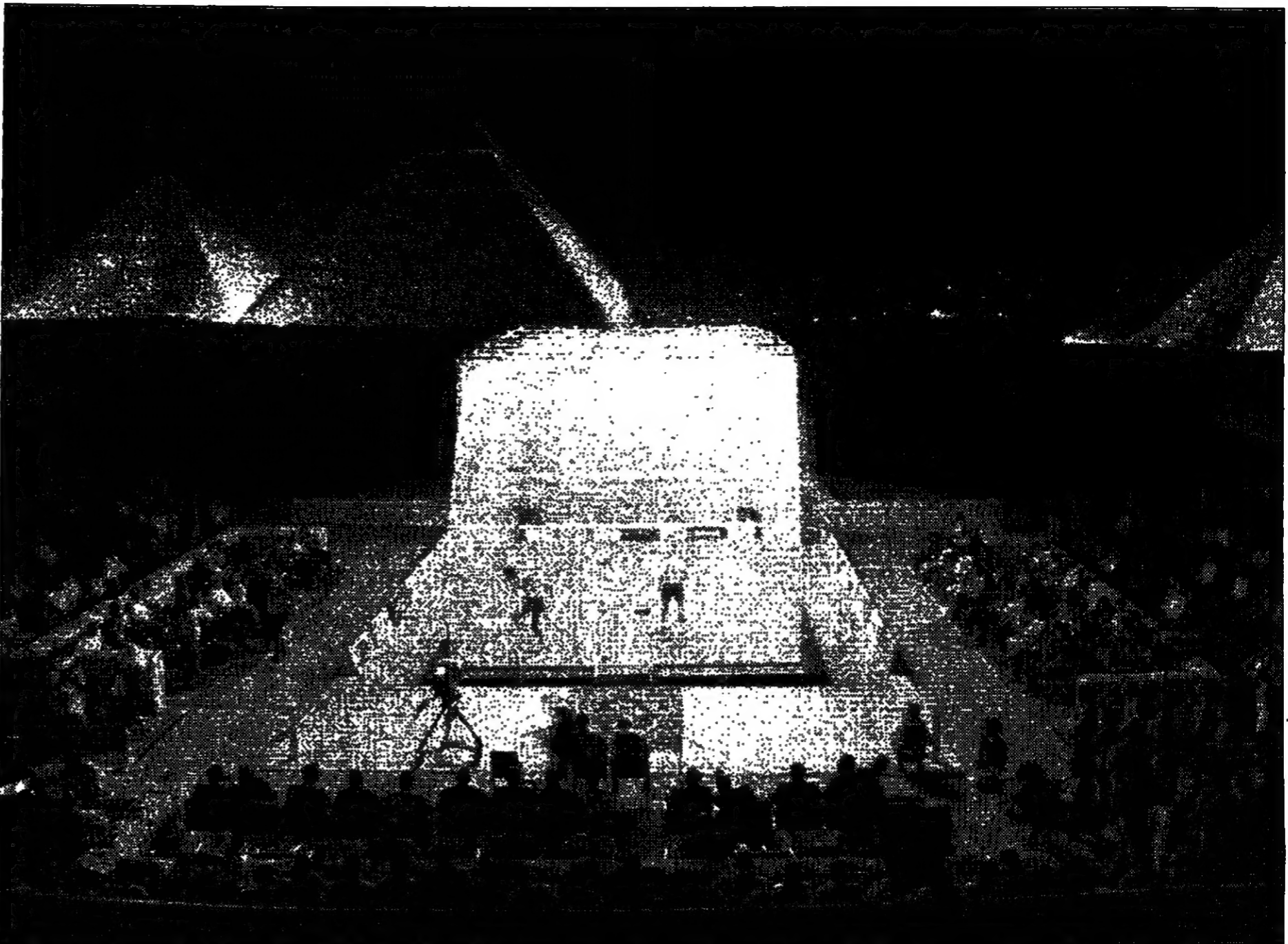
An investigation into this tussle, in which dissident officials speak out for the first time, unravels how other plans to end or prevent the carnage in Bosnia were stifled by a team at the top of the state department and National Security Council.

A secret offer by France, made three times in 1991, to provide peacekeeping paratroops for Bosnia if they were matched by America was turned down despite pressure from diplomats convinced that such a force could have prevented the carnage.

The former US ambassador in Belgrade, Warren Zimmerman — who resigned from the diplomatic service in protest — argued for a preventive peacekeeping force in Bosnia as early as November 1991. He was overruled by the United Nations envoy, Cyrus Vance.

In the Guardian today, Mr Zimmerman admits: "Had I been smart enough, I wouldn't have taken no for an answer."

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Leader comment, page 8



The illuminated pyramids of (left to right) Khufu, Khephren and Menkaure frame a glass squash court set up on the Giza plateau near Cairo for the Al-Ahram International Championship. Britain's Simon Parke beat Derek Ryan of Ireland 17-15, 15-11, 16-7 in their second-round match on Saturday. PHOTOGRAPH: ERIC MARTI

# Brown pushes ahead with benefit cut

Patrick Wintour, Chief Political Correspondent

**T**HE shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, yesterday rejected Labour Party criticism of his plan to abolish child benefit for 15- to 18-year-olds and said it would go ahead.

Despite weekend criticism from the party's influential National Policy Forum, he insisted that the plan symbolised the kind of tough choices the party needed to make if it was to unleash resources for Labour's top priorities.

"We would not be serving the people who depend on the welfare state well if we make decisions about public spending that allow public spending to get out of control and it had to be reined back."

A closed session of the

forum in Manchester, examining five separate policy documents, heard criticisms of the leadership over its handling of the welfare state review with some accusing the shadow cabinet of conveying the impression that child benefit itself is under threat.

The formal report of the forum agreed that the proposal to review child benefit for 15- to 18-year-olds at school "had not been initially presented well", but it endorsed the principle of the review.

Mr Brown received mixed messages. He faced hostile questioning over his review in the forum, but received strong applause from a 500-strong party rally in Manchester for his insistence that it had to go ahead if Labour was to be seen to be making a credible effort to control spending.

Concern from traditionalists was also expressed at the forum over plans by the shadow social security secretary, Chris Smith, not to increase the basic state pension in line with earnings, but instead concentrate on new industry-wide second-tier pensions, details of which have yet to be published.

Labour's continuing edginess over the welfare state review was also underlined when officials mounted a damage-limitation exercise over an article under the name of the shadow employment secretary, Michael Meacher, promising that Labour would abolish the job seekers' allowance, the Government's much criticised replacement for unemployment benefit.

The article was written by the research director to Mr Meacher, and was not shown

to him before publication. The researcher appears inadvertently to have breached party policy, but the episode did not deter the shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook, the forum chairman, from claiming the forum, a 100-strong body designed to discuss issues in greater depth, had not only been the most successful in its three-year history, but also completed the party's policy-making process in advance of the election.

"Our weekend of intensive policy discussion revealed no policy splits in the Labour Party over the big issues facing modern Britain." The next task would be to collate all the party's policies into a single text, likely to be published in the summer.

The forum broadly endorsed papers on: life-long learning, including the party's submission to Sir Ron

Dearing's Government-inspired review of higher education; a new stakeholder economy, including more open regulation of the utilities; a transport strategy, including plans to use vehicle excise duty to minimise car use; plans for English regional assemblies; and a foreign and defence policy stressing influence in Europe.

# French see red as Eric Cantona gets the boot from Euro 96 squad

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

**F**RENCH football bosses were yesterday deluged with hate-faxes and angry telephone calls after Eric Cantona was left out of the Euro 96 squad by the national trainer, Aimé Jacquet.

The snub to the Manchester United striker was based on "good sense" and faith in a young line-up which has been unbeaten for 20 matches, Jacquet said. "I have no qualms about my choice. I have weighed up the merits of all the best French players, including Cantona. Besides, I have no duty to British crowds."

The decision came as a

shock to French fans proud of Olympique de Marseille's former loose cannon, who is seen as having mastered his temper thanks to British discipline. Last week he became the first Frenchman to inspire a rendition of the Marseillaise at an FA Cup final, when he scored the winning goal.

French pundits were divided. Gérard Eijnes, of the sports daily, L'Equipe, said there was no history of animosity between Jacquet and Cantona. "When Jacquet was given the job in 1993 — after France's disastrous failure to qualify for the World Cup — Cantona was the first to support him."

Jacquet last selected Cantona in January 1995, to captain France in a friendly against the Netherlands. A week later, Cantona assaulted a Crystal Palace fan, which led to him being banned from United and the French national team.

Eijnes said: "Jacquet has transformed the French squad and his decision makes perfect sporting sense, without being a reflection on Cantona's ability. Jacquet is a group man. That is why Cantona is out."

Such musings did not appeal to French fans. They reacted by firing their off-pitch advice to the French football federation, declaring "Jacques Jacquet"



Eric Cantona: trainer felt 'no duty to British crowds'

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War in the former Yugoslavia seemed to catch the US government off guard. In fact that is far from the truth.

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War in the former Yugoslavia seemed to catch the US government off guard. In fact that is far from the truth.

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Kenneth Clarke takes an average of nearly £300 a week from every household in Britain.

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Only 30 per cent of the Monday Grand Prix and more were missed by spectators at the Oiler Park, on Sunday a 15-year-old brought to Liger.

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# Monuments to the art of this sporting life

Batley has unveiled the latest in its collection of modern outdoor sculptures — Britain's first contemporary works to be commissioned by a rugby league club

### Monday sketch



Martin Wainwright

**Y**OU can safely bet that there were plenty of people in Renaissance Florence who thought that the Medici had flipped over public spending, or made willie jokes about Michelangelo's statue of David.

So the West Riding textile town of Batley acquired itself rather well yesterday at the unveiling of the latest in the town's amazing collection of modern outdoor sculptures — Britain's first works of contemporary art to be commissioned by a rugby league club.

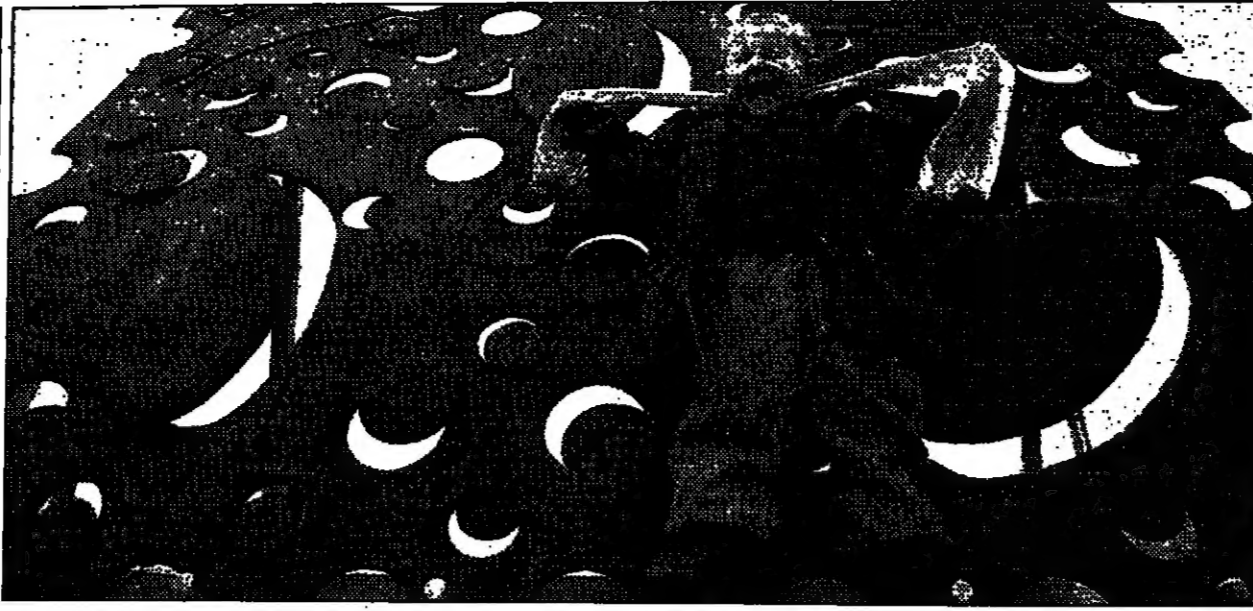
Fans of the Gallant Youths, the virtuous old nickname for Batley R.L.F.C. which is stoutly resisting current, post-modern attempts to replace it with 'The Bulldogs', gave a three-to-one welcome to Sporting Fabric and Fun at t'Game. Vividly different, one bronze and the

second a splash of painted steel, the £30,000 pieces are the 20th step in Brightening Batley, a programme designed to flag up economic regeneration via sculpture and other works of public art.

"You'd have to be dead mean to object to all them bright colours," said Pete Chalmers, puffing up Mount Pleasant for the match with Kelkley Cougars, and studying Fun's Beano-like figures for the first time.

He was echoed by the Lunas sisters, Hazra and Hawa, whose sitting-room view now includes Sporting Fabric's medley of rugby, soccer, cricket and tennis balls, stretched on an old cloth-drying tenter-frame and illuminated at night.

"It puts Mount Pleasant on the map, tells people what's on round here," said Hazra, not a rugby league fan herself but interested in the football epics between Mar's Team and All's Team which take place all Sunday on the crumbly, six-sided pitch across Heritage Road from the R.L. ground. The lads playing yesterday were a little more divided, although most backed 14-year-old Shafiq Hussain's opinion: "Perfect, the bright colours are great. But it'd be easier to understand what it's about if they gave more of the characters Batley scarves."



A fan, Dominic Law, gives his views on one of the new works near Batley Rugby League ground PHOTOGRAPH JUSTIN BLEW

The sculpture-unveiling was no tuppenny-ha'penny affair: the jokes about "welcome on a Yorkshire summer day" (shiver, brrr) came from Rodney Walker, chairman of the Sports Council. Batley is going seriously for the big, sculptural time.

And why not, say the likes of Public Art's Chris Cowen,

who has overseen the sculpting of giant gristona baba hand-painted tile house numbers and art lessons in nurseries, sheltered housing and the Kashmiri Welfare Association. "We seek to mark this time of change and to celebrate the town's progress towards a vital and exciting future," she says, echoing

Lorenzo the Magnificent's general approach.

But in Batley? Don't scoff. The town is bigger (and much wealthier) than the Medici's Florence, sits on lovely geology (millstone grit stands in for Carrara marble) and has an enviable pedigree in human ingenuity. Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth

came from three junctions down the M63, while Batley's own Joseph Priestley discovered oxygen and Theodore Taylor's mill ran the world's first workers' shareholding scheme in the 1890s.

And the rugby league is an interesting ingredient too — a game with more in common with sculpture than you might

think. Not so much in aesthetics, the balletic double-step of a scrum-half stealing the ball, or that sort of thing, but the hard graft involved. Chris Cowen comments, as the wind hums round Fun at t'Game: "It can be very hard work moulding figures like these from steel. But look at the detail, like the fan watching a match on TV and knocking over his pint of beer."

"Actually," says Fun's creator, the sculptor Mick Kirkby Geddes, "what I really like about working with steel is that everyone thinks it's such a tough job. Most of this is fairly thin sheet steel which you can twist and cut without too much trouble." Still, the force required can sometimes match the kick in a Batley-York match which resulted in a Gallant Youth having two teeth removed — on the pitch by the team coach. (They were then held up for the crowd to admire, causing two young women fans to faint).

Not everyone was joining in the joy, however. A small focus of opposition gathered on the crowgreen bowling lawn behind the Batley Taverners' Club, whose resident dog, Judy, appears in Fun at t'Game, boldly painted sky-blue and with frisky sticking-up ears. "Those ears," admits Mr Kirkby Geddes, "are the one thing I had to change.

Judy's always lie flat and that didn't look lively enough, so I took the liberty of altering them."

The women's team captain, Gloria Harrop, greets the new sculptures with a prolonged intake of breath and a meaningful: "What do I think? Well..." Her eyebrows arched and she declined the chance of crossing the road to join the windblown launching party.

"Sporting Fabric isn't what we thought we'd get, after we first met the artist and all got down on the floor drawing bits and pieces to show what we'd like. What's happened to our woods [the bowls used on the green]? They've got rugby balls and cricket balls and all the other balls, but you've got to look very hard to see any woods."

In fact, as the sculptor, Jeremy Cunningham, points out, the woods are there; but the Gallant Youths' traffic steward, spending all day opposite the piece, directing fans' cars, offers one practical reason why they aren't more obvious. Batley R.L.F.C. paid £10,000 of the commission (the rest coming from corporate sponsorship and heritage awards). "If the bowls people wanted bigger woods," says the steward, in brass-tack terms which both Medici and West Riding people would recognise, "they should've paid a bit more of 't' bill".

## Back to beef and cold and rain for tired hostages

John Mullan

**B**ILL Oates, newly rescued from one life-threatening experience, was at it again yesterday. His first request on arriving home was for Sunday lunch. He wanted roast beef and Yorkshire pudding.

With three other Cambridge University students, he had been held in captivity for 129 days, and so some speculated he knew nothing of the beef crisis. Others thought spending almost four months hostage in the Indonesian jungle might put worries about BSE into perspective.

But his family has a cattle farm in the Scottish borders, and his father is a champion breeder. A Sunday at home without roast beef was unthinkable, particularly after surviving for so long on caterpillars and fruit.

After a 17-hour flight from Jakarta, the Cambridge quartet, all natural science graduates, arrived at Heathrow early yesterday. Until the Indonesian special forces rescued them five days ago, they, with five Indonesians and two Dutch people, had been held in the mountainous Irian Jaya region by the Free Papua Movement (OPM), which expected some might be spies.

They had gone last September to Irian Jaya to study wildlife. Mr Oates was botanical co-ordinator, and the four were entering an ancient civilisation discovered only 60 years ago by Westerners.

Jeremy Hanley, the Foreign Office minister, who met them at Heathrow, refused to comment on speculation of SAS involvement. The Indonesian troops had secretly tracked



Bill Oates greets his girlfriend, Kate Robson Brown, before joining his family for Sunday lunch PHOTOGRAPH MURDO MACLEOD

the hostages and their captives for a week.

Daniel Starbuck, aged 21, from London, also spoke briefly, but Annette van der Kolk, aged 21, of Fleet, Hampshire, and Anna McIvor, aged 21, of Bourne-mouth, Dorset, said nothing at Heathrow airport.

Because of illness, Ms McIvor was unable to flee her captors as the rescue operation started. She watched them react violently, hacking to death two Indonesian hostages, and hid up a tree.

The hostages were about

to be released on May 8, World Red Cross Day, after negotiations between the Red Cross and the OPM. But just before helicopters were to take them to safety, Kelly Kwakik, the rebels' leader, changed his mind. The hostages were marched in tears into the jungle.

Mr Oates, aged 23, from Jedburgh in the Scottish borders, said: "It's been a long time in the forest thinking about all the things we missed. It's great to be back. But we are considerably devastated that not all the group was able

to share these emotions with us. We left behind two good friends in the forest."

Mr Start said: "It's wonderful to be home on a typically English spring day, cold and wet, and especially joyous to be reunited with our families. Their memories kept us very strong."

"We are exhausted after the final few days. It's a huge culture shock after living half a year in a Stone Age civilisation."

The four had been taken hostage on January 8, and the Red Cross had been in negotiations with their cap-

tors from the following month, flying every day into the region where they were held. It dealt with dangerous, armed people.

"They worked very hard to gain the trust of these people and gain our unconditional release," said Mr Start. After Kwakik changed his mind about releasing them, the only solution was to send in the military, he added.

Later, at her parents' house, Ms Van Der Kolk said: "It's very, very good to be home. Everyone has been absolutely wonderful."

## Top firms stop cash for Tories

Lisa Buckingham

**F**INANCIAL support for the Conservative Party among Britain's biggest companies has collapsed leaving the Government with only a handful of backers in the run-up to the election.

And Central Office has been given notice that support will dry up even further next year.

Research by the Guardian shows that just 12 of the top 100 companies which have so far published annual reports for 1996 are continuing to give money to the Tories.

Of the groups which have still to provide details, the Government can rely only on Dixons, Marks & Spencer and Toys 'R Us to remain loyal.

The defections mean the Government will probably collect just £200,000 from Britain's biggest companies — roughly half the support it gained in the run-up to the last election when 29 corporations made donations.

The Tories have clearly been snubbed by a number of big corporations alienated by government policies. The brewer and retailer, Whitbread, for example, cancelled its long-standing support following a perceived failure

to help the beer industry in successive budgets.

Next year the pressure could intensify. The drugs giant, Glaxo Wellcome, gave £5,000 last year but has said it will no longer contribute. The insurance group, Legal & General, which gives about £30,000 a year, decided not to seek shareholder approval for future contributions.

Shareholders are helping to turn the screw by questioning the validity of donations to any political party. This has prompted a number of companies to split their political contributions more evenly.

Corporate activity, encouraged by the Government's free market philosophy, also looks set to diminish the Tories' income. A restructuring at Associated British Foods in 1994 meant that a £100,000 donation by part of the empire was deleted last year, while the acquisition of the Fortis empire, which gave £30,000 in its last financial year, by the politically neutral Granada group will also affect Tory finances.

The four-way split of the Hanson empire, coupled with the next year's retirement of founder chairman, Lord Hanson, could end its long running £100,000-a-year donation.

## Mawhinney to hold internal investigation into donations

continued from page one

close whether any donation was made subsequently.

Mr Kennedy dismissed the Sunday Times story as fantastic nonsense whilst the businessman, who remained unnamed yesterday, issued a statement through solicitor Carter-Ruck rejecting the newspaper's claims.

They said their client was a British citizen of Yugoslav birth with substantial assets who had lived in the UK for more than a decade. "Our client is outraged by any suggestion that he is linked in any way to Radovan Karadzic or the Bosnian Serbs. We are instructed that our client has never met, communicated with, or been associated with, Radovan Karadzic in any way whatsoever." It said the businessman had never been associated with anyone in the Bosnian Serb leadership, and never handled money or assets from them.

Mr Mawhinney said he would be speaking to Mr Kennedy about the allegations, as well as to party treasurers.

Mr Kennedy said he had not raised any money from outside the UK, nor had he "raised any amount, either in total or in part, of either £50,000 or £100,000".

## Dance where complexity becomes simplicity

### Review

Judith Mackrell

Trisha Brown Company Theatre Royal Brighton

**A**ERICAN choreographer Trisha Brown happily describes herself as a structure freak. Although the surfaces of her dances often have the rich and accidental beauty of a landscape, with rustling moves that look as if breezes are blowing through the dancers, or angular planes as surprising as rock formations, her dance is always pinned to tight mathe-

tical designs. A single phrase will be rigorously repeated, inverted, condensed and embellished as if a computer had been programmed to work out all its possible variations.

And there is usually one single organising idea that motors each piece, an idea that has the resonance of metaphor.

In the 1983 classic Set and Reset (which opens the company's current programme) the focus of the dance shifts very gradually from one side of the stage to the other. When the seven whirling, diving, gusting dancers finally exit it's as if we've been watching a weather front blowing across the space.

In the 1994 solo, If you couldn't see me, Brown (who at 59 is lean and sphinx-like as a witch) dances entirely with her back to us. Its extraordinary how forcefully a personality can be projected through the curve of a shoulder, the moulding of a spine, the flattened palm of a hand.

Then in her latest piece, M.O., Brown creates dance structures to Bach's Musical Offering where complexity is pared down to such simplicity that form becomes loaded with drama. In the first section dance and music create a multi-layered puzzle in which dancers ripple and weave in counterpoint with each other, as well as with the music.

Even the tiniest shifts of an

arm can register an independent rhythmic variation. But just as our eye and brain are ready to short circuit on the amount of information we're receiving, lovely moments occur when the dancers and the music all unite in harmonic resolution.

Then, meticulously, the piece is deconstructed into shorter sections of music and dance, disrupted by whole passages of silence and emptiness. Brown shows us things in isolation a dust for two men whose bodies curve sweetly towards each other even as their feet patter contrasting music. Or a typical Brown plank where she has five dancers trying to cross the stage in a unison line

but choreographs all their movements slightly off the beat so that they look like a fidgeting blur.

Progressively as the work pares down, the dancers' black costumes are replaced by white and grey, as if to let in even more light and air. And finally only one dancer (Diana Madden) remains. Dressed in white she dances to the sound of the bare musical phrase which is the seed to all other variations of Bach's score.

At the close she is rejoined by the others who move together in a frieze of sculpted dance. The climax to which the piece has been moving is to make us see Bach's music and hear Brown's movement with sublime clarity.

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# Feminists challenge the mullahs

The Iranian president's daughter, Faiza Hashemi (right), wants to win more influence for women, writes Kathy Evans



A NEW generation of Iranian feminists led by the daughter of the president is demanding the right to run for the highest post in government, including the presidency. Only a few months ago the idea of a woman candidate for the presidency would have raised a few laughs and little else. For the last 17 years since the Islamic revolution, Iranian women have been forced by law to abide by certain dress codes, barred from certain jobs, and kept on the sidelines in decision-making. Now, to the horror of the conservative clerics, women are demanding change in the wake of the unprecedented success of women candidates

in recent elections. The most spectacular success was scored by Faiza Hashemi Rafsanjani, the president's daughter, who won the second highest number of votes. She was second only to Nataq Nouri, leader of the Combatant Clergymen's Association, who has already announced he plans to seek the presidency. Faiza Hashemi signalled the launch of her campaign for high office recently with a declaration in the country's leading feminist magazine that there was no religious objection to a woman becoming president. "One of the problems of women in Iran is that they are not present in high levels of government or decision-

making at the macro level," she told Zanan (Women) magazine, the Iranian feminist journal. "Women should not be getting to the higher levels including the executive level, the presidency. There is no religious bar to this, for Islam only says women cannot be judges." She did not deny recent press speculation that her success in the general elections could pave the way for a presidential bid. "I did not enter the political arena with this idea in mind. It is too early to talk about this subject," she said. Much will depend on her father, President Hashemi Rafsanjani, she added. Mr Rafsanjani is barred by the constitution from standing for a third term as president next year and his political future seems uncertain. Any return to parliament, even as its speaker, would seem to be a setback for the man who has ruled Iran for the last seven years. Many Iranian analysts now believe that Ms Hashemi, aged 31, is well-placed for an attempt to secure the parliamentary speakership, or at the very least, deputy speakership. Success in this would boost the status of women deputies enormously and signal a new tone of liberalism and modernism — just the kind of development conservative clerics oppose. Only last year, parliament voted against setting up a special committee to look into women's issues. Since the election, Iranian

feminists have been particularly outspoken. A leading woman lawyer, Mehrangiz Kar, recently criticised the Guardians' Council, one of the highest clerical and parliamentary bodies in Iran, for not including women. The council, which approves the Islamic suitability of all election candidates, is biased against women, Ms Kar said. In one provincial constituency where a woman candidate topped the poll, the council ordered the result to be cancelled. The only public hint of her liberal views so far came in her election campaign, when she was the only woman candidate to show her chin in her election posters. However she has argued that women should be allowed to wear a greater range of colours than the currently acceptable black, brown, grey and blue. For the last few years, Ms Hashemi's sole public office has been as head of the women's Olympic committee, responsible for encouraging women to enter sports acceptable to Islam. She was attacked recently by the radical clerical-backed group, Ansar Hizbullah, for urging that women be allowed to ride bicycles and motorcycles. Radicalism compared her with the Prophet Mohammed's wife, Ayysha, a figure viewed as anti-Shi'ite by Iranian Muslims.

A number of pro-feminist clergy members have written long articles in women's magazines challenging the Islamic Republic's attitude to women. Liberal-minded clergy members are now even publishing their own women's magazine. To Western eyes, Ms Hashemi might appear an unlikely feminist. She always wears the black chador, the symbol of conservative Muslim womanhood, and forswears cosmetics. The only public hint of her liberal views so far came in her election campaign, when she was the only woman candidate to show her chin in her election posters. However she has argued that women should be allowed to wear a greater range of colours than the currently acceptable black, brown, grey and blue. For the last few years, Ms Hashemi's sole public office has been as head of the women's Olympic committee, responsible for encouraging women to enter sports acceptable to Islam. She was attacked recently by the radical clerical-backed group, Ansar Hizbullah, for urging that women be allowed to ride bicycles and motorcycles. Radicalism compared her with the Prophet Mohammed's wife, Ayysha, a figure viewed as anti-Shi'ite by Iranian Muslims.

## Court says Egypt's schools can ban Muslim veils

EGYPT'S higher constitutional court has upheld a ruling by the education ministry barring schoolgirls from wearing the Muslim veil. Newspapers in Cairo reported yesterday that the court had rejected an attempt by Mahmoud Sami Ali, the father of two girls who were expelled from school, to overturn the de-

crees, which he had said violated Egypt's constitution. Two years ago the education minister, Hussein Kamel Bahaeddin, introduced strict controls over school uniform for girls in a move against what he said was the growing influence of Islamic fundamentalist teachers. The girls' father said the rule infringed individual

liberty and contravened Islamic dress codes. But the judge said rulings on school uniform violated neither Islam nor individual liberty. Most versions of Islamic law say women should expose only their faces and hands in public. The two girls had been wearing a full veil covering the face when they were turned away from school. — Reuters.

# Lebanon truce terms 'broken in Israeli raid'

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

SYRIA yesterday accused Israel of violating the latest ceasefire agreement in Lebanon by targeting civilians in a retaliatory artillery attack. But Israel denied the charge, claiming that Hizbullah guerrillas broke the agreement by using civilians as shields. A Lebanese woman was injured in the Israeli bombardment, which followed a clash in which two guerrillas were killed and an Israeli soldier wounded inside Israel's occupation zone in south Lebanon. The subsequent artillery fire was aimed at villages north of the zone. One of the missiles — they were reportedly shells used in practice, without explosives or fuses — hit a woman in the foot in the village of Kfar Tibnit. Hizbullah leaders said the shelling was a clear breach of the April 26 ceasefire, under which both sides undertook not to target civilians. Ansar Hizbullah, for urging that women be allowed to ride bicycles and motorcycles. Radicalism compared her with the Prophet Mohammed's wife, Ayysha, a figure viewed as anti-Shi'ite by Iranian Muslims.

first. The co-ordinator of its policy on Lebanon, Uri Lubrani, told army radio that Hizbullah had "operated from a built-up area and withdrew to a village full of civilians". Israel had a right to defend itself against guerrilla attacks, he said. Army spokesmen declined to comment on a report in yesterday's Observer newspaper that Israel has formed a commando death squad to find and kill Hizbullah officials and activists in Lebanon. A unit of the squad was reported to have triggered the disastrous artillery barrage on the UN base at Qana, when it asked for help on a search-and-destroy mission. But the army did publicise the latest success in its campaign against another Islamist group, Hamas. Yesterday's Israeli papers carried prominent photographs of Hassan Salameh firing in a Jerusalem hospital bed and breathing through a respirator, after he had been shot and arrested by troops near the West Bank town of Hebron on Friday. Mr Salameh, described as Israel's most wanted man, is accused of organising at least three of four suicide bombings in Israel in late February and early March. The bombings claimed 63 lives. Mr Salameh has been blamed for at least 45. The arrest of Mr Salameh at a Hebron hospital, where he sought help after being shot while fleeing soldiers, who stopped him at a checkpoint, could boost public support for Israel's prime minister, Shimon Peres, before the May 29 general election. The head of the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights has been arrested in Gaza City, officials said yesterday. The commission said Iyad Saraj had not returned home since leaving with Palestinian police officers on Saturday afternoon. "To our knowledge, no official accusation or charge has been made against Dr Saraj," a commission statement said. It said the arrest might be connected to Dr Saraj's criticisms in the New York Times earlier this month of Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority.

# Provinces incur Beijing's wrath

Mure Dickie in Beijing

CHINA has ordered a crackdown on separatist "terrorists" in its restive Tibet and Xinjiang regions, saying activists who oppose Beijing's rule must be crushed. In a rare admission of the severity of anti-Chinese feeling in the Himalayan region, the official Tibet Daily newspaper exhorted police to wipe out a campaign of bombings mounted by groups that support Tibet's exiled Buddhist leader, the Dalai Lama. A front-page editorial, seen in Beijing yesterday, said: "In the 'strike hard' crackdown on crime we must relentlessly pursue and show no mercy to those who transport, steal and hide explosives and firearms." The newspaper said the death penalty should be imposed wherever warranted. The call for action in the tightly controlled region followed several reports of isolated bombings in and around Lhasa by Tibetans opposed to Chinese rule. The London-based Tibet Information Network, which liaises closely with dissenters in the region, said that up to 80 people — at least 30 of them women — had been injured in a clash with authorities in Tibet on May 14. An official of the Lhasa People's Hospital dismissed TIN's report that two truckloads of wounded people had

been taken there after the clash. "I don't know anything about a riot or disturbance. There have been no wounded here," the official said. But a Western tourist, speaking on the telephone from Lhasa, said: "There has been some kind of disturbance. I heard about 40 people were hurt." Most monasteries near the Tibetan capital appeared to have been sealed off following reports of a disturbance in the city last week, the Western tourist said. Lhasa residents said on Saturday that officials had sealed off Ganden monastery, one of Tibet's largest, after anti-Chinese protests by monks. One monk was shot and dozens arrested, according to reports from the region. TIN said the demonstration erupted on May 7 after officials had tried to impose regulations banning the display in temples of photographs of the Dalai Lama. In Xinjiang, where Beijing has waged a sometimes brutal campaign to counter Muslim and ethnic nationalism, the official newspaper called for strategic targets to be guarded against sabotage. A front-page editorial in the official Xinjiang Daily said "violent terrorist activity" had killed innocent people and urged "protective measures to prevent enemy sabotage". It said: "We must crush the arrogance of enemy elements." — Reuters.



Innocent victims... More than 5,000 mourners attend a memorial service yesterday in the former convict settlement of Port Arthur, Tasmania, the site of last month's massacre of 35 people by a lone gunman

# Militias step up gun ban protest

Christopher Zimm in Sydney

SECURITY was tightened around several Australian politicians at the weekend, after threats from radical militia and gun groups opposed to the government's proposed ban on rapid-fire weapons. The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation has increased protection around the prime minister, John Howard, it was reported. Peter Coyle, head of the Queensland intelligence squad, said there had been no reports of damage so far, but police were taking the statement seriously. Four MPs in Queensland, including the premier, Rob Borbidge, were the targets of threats after Mr Howard announced the crackdown on

guns following the April massacre of 35 people in Port Arthur, Tasmania. Rob Owen, president of the Firearm Owners' Association, which has about 3,400 members, has warned that the "blood of people who oppose freedom" would be spilled. The British-born gun dealer and former soldier said militia groups, such as the Patriots and the AUSI Freedom Scouts, would flourish because of attempts to crack down on weapons. "Their growth will be encouraged by law that is a danger to unconstitutional governments like we have now."

The leader of the Scouts, Ian Murphy, said: "An unjust law is a tyrannical law, and there is no obligation to obey a tyrannical law." In Tasmania, about 5,000 people attended an open-air service amid the ruins of the Port Arthur convict settlement to remember the victims of the April 28 and 29 killings by a lone gunman. A Tasmanian, Martin Bryant, has been charged with one of the murders and is due to make his first court appearance on Wednesday by video from the Hobart prison hospital, where he is being held.

# Party vows to make mums pay

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

ISRAELI voters keen to strike a blow for political correctness in the May 29 general election need look no further than the party led by Jacob Schlosser. Although there is no question of single-issue politics in Mr Schlosser's campaign, one of the many causes it champions is abortion on demand — for men. The issue is described in the manifesto of the Party of Men's Rights in the Family as "the right of men to prevent the birth of an unwanted child (forced paternity)". Mr Schlosser says: "We are talking about the right of a child to come into the world, only if he has two parents who are living together." He acknowledges that enforced abortion on paternal demand is a little strong. In a Schlosser-run democracy, a pregnant woman would be entitled to bear both her child and the entire expense of parenthood. This is only fair "if the woman is pregnant and she did it to catch a man", according to Mira Schlosser, Mr Schlosser's wife and number 2 on the party list of five candidates. Mrs Schlosser believes women have a duty to pay for their maternal responsibilities, as she did after her first marriage ended in divorce. She and her first husband had three children, but all were over 18 at the time of the split and therefore no longer entitled to paternal support. Mr Schlosser is still paying 1,500 shekels a month (more than £300) towards the cost of bringing up his 12-year-old son from his first marriage. Married six years ago, the Schlossers have a daughter. The present state of affairs makes them angry. "Look, if a man is stupid, or a soldier, or unemployed, he has no money," Mr Schlosser says. "But if he has a child, he has to pay, even if the woman is a millionaire. Only the man must pay." With half a million divorced adults in Israel, the Schlossers believe they have an excellent chance of entering parliament. If they succeed, they will not only concern themselves with family issues. The other issues in their manifesto include the introduction of civil marriage, fair pensions for all, subsidised housing for young couples and a ban on animal experiments.

# Divine puts her act on screen

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

THE Los Angeles Police Department, under constant criticism for five years, is under fire again in Divine Brown's new pornographic video account of her Hollywood encounter last June with Hugh Grant. In an "interview" on the video, called Divine & Sunset: the British Experience, the ex-prostitute claims that as she "committed a lewd act" in Mr Grant's BMW on Sunset Boulevard, police officers deliberately watched before arresting them. Sadly, this claim is the video's most illuminating moment. Ms Brown is due in London next month to publicise the video in Britain, but its content will be toned down under British laws. The hard-core version is being released in dozens of countries and Michael Evans, an executive with the producers, hopes for sales of 100,000. It costs \$32 (£21) in the United States and is "doing great", he said. The 85-minute epic features a British porn actor called Marc Davis, a rising sex star in LA, who portrays "Hugh". Ms Brown plays herself as a lady of the night. Yet the crucial incident, which happened at 1.30 am, is shown in broad daylight and — the unkindest cut of

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News in brief

Yeltsin may shuffle pack to woo voters

BORIS Yeltsin, Russia's president, said yesterday he would consider reshuffling his cabinet and forming an alliance with anti-communists in an attempt to woo voters in the June 19 presidential election. During a campaign trip to the Siberian city of Omsk, he also promised to prevent poll fraud and said he would go ahead with a pre-election trip to Chechnya, despite what he claimed was intelligence that separatist rebels planned to kill him. In an interview Mr Yeltsin said: "We may perhaps replace the greater part of the government team." He said members of other political parties may be invited to join the government. His comments appeared to address some of the demands made by Grigory Yavlinsky, a liberal economist, who last Thursday suggested an alliance with Mr Yeltsin to fight the communist party led by Gennady Zyuganov, with whom polls show Mr Yeltsin running roughly neck and neck. Mr Yavlinsky set out his conditions for joining forces, including sacking the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and the defence minister, Pavel Grachev. Mr Yeltsin yesterday also responded to widespread fears of fraud in the election by promising to "take measures" to keep the count clean. — Agencies, Moscow and Omsk.

Caning banned

REJECTING the appeal of a man who hit his daughter, aged 10, with a belt, Italy's supreme court has ruled that corporal punishment is "culturally and legally unjustified". The court has refused to overturn the man's conviction by a Milan appeals court on charges of improper punishment. The court had ruled earlier this year that a group of adults had not been guilty of mistreatment when they used a carpet beater to discipline children. The "Turin" daily, La Stampa, said the girl, from a small town in northern Italy, had gone to police in 1990 complaining that her father had hit her with his belt. — AP, Rome.

Dole receives poll lift

BOB DOLE'S presidential hopes received a boost in the latest opinion polls after he retired from the Senate last week to concentrate on the presidential race. More than half of the respondents in a CNN-Time magazine survey said that Mr Dole, the Republican candidate, can defeat the president, Bill Clinton, in November. Regardless of who they would choose, 53 per cent thought it possible for Mr Dole to beat Mr Clinton — up from 53 per cent last week. Even 47 per cent of Democrats say it is possible for Mr Dole to win. Meanwhile, Newsweek found Mr Dole would only be 7 percentage points behind Mr Clinton, 41 to 37, among voters if the election were held today. However, President Clinton still holds a commanding lead of 20 points or more in most of the large states. — Mark Tran, New York.

Turks kill Kurdish rebels

THE TURKISH army, continuing a two-month-old offensive against Kurdish rebels, killed 38 guerrillas in a battle in the mountains of the south-east, officials said yesterday. Fighting began on Saturday near the village of Cakirpinar in Batman province, 40 miles east of the region's main city Diyarbakir, and continued through yesterday morning, the deputy regional governor, Ahmet Erzurk, said. The clash is over, the troops are searching the area for rebel hideouts, he added. Earlier an official said four soldiers were killed and eight others wounded. But Mr Erzurk denied the Turkish military suffered casualties. — AP, Diyarbakir.

'Independence' anniversary

SOMALILAND, the self-declared Horn of Africa republic which has still to achieve international recognition, marked five years of independence with a military parade yesterday. Western aid workers said on Saturday that three aid workers — a German, Briton, and Somali — were "under the protection" of villagers after being kidnapped earlier by gunmen. The exact status of the three, staff of the German aid agency GTZ, was not immediately clear but negotiations were being held to try to secure agreement for the men to leave. — Reuters, Hargeisa.

Saddam nears deal with UN

THE Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, is expected to respond within an hour to a United Nations offer allowing Iraq to sell limited quantities of oil to raise funds for food and medicine, the UN said yesterday. The announcement came after Iraq's chief negotiator, Abdul Amir al-Anbari, met the UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. "We have reached the final stage of the negotiations," the UN spokesman, Ahmad Fawzi, said. "We can go no further without hearing from Baghdad." President Saddam met the French rightwing National Front leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen (above) and praised Paris's sympathetic attitude towards Baghdad, official Iraqi newspapers reported yesterday. They said Mr Le Pen, who leaves today, told President Saddam that he stood with Iraq and its "heroic steadfastness against the unfair trade sanctions," which he said amounted to "genocide perpetrated under the fallacious international legitimacy". — Agencies, Baghdad.

Troops mutiny

MUTINOUS troops in the Central African Republic who are holding the army chief of staff said they were ready to negotiate with the government and had no political aims. Sergeant Isidore Souke, one of the mutineers, told Radio France International that authorities had violated an agreement made after a mutiny a month ago by detaining a number of soldiers. In mid-April troops staged a three-day revolt in Bangui over pay. The mutineers were granted an amnesty. — Reuters, Bangui.

Poll disenchantment

VOTERS in Ecuador, disenchanted with their politicians over a corruption scandal and economic policies that hurt the poor, voted yesterday in elections in which no presidential candidate appears to have a clear lead. Disenchantment was so high last week that a survey showed 60 per cent of the electorate would stay at home if voting was not compulsory. — Reuters, Quito.

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America's big strategic lie



War in the former Yugoslavia seemed to catch the US government off guard. In fact, writes Ed Vulliamy, that is far from the truth

LATE in July, 1992, as "ethnic cleansing" and the Sarajevo siege hit a ferocious new high, a team from the Pentagon and CIA went to Capitol Hill to brief the Senate foreign relations committee. An official present recalled the CIA being anxious to ensure that everyone was aware of the situation. The committee was shown a slide of a photograph of a dense forest on the mountains around Sarajevo, which would hide artillery. Those present were then told air strikes against the Serbs would be impossible in such terrain, said the official. That assessment was a strategic lie, in flagrant contradiction of another secret briefing which, the Guardian has learned, was given weeks before.

was divided before the war began. Institutions of state were inclined to steer clear of the Balkans, regarding them as Europe's insoluble problem. But powerful individuals, and key sections of the state department, took a contrary view. They insisted that United States interests were at stake, or saw a moral onus on America to set an example in the post-communist order by enforcing a just outcome. The divide caused the most acrimonious battle over foreign policy since Vietnam. In June, 1991, the secretary of state, James Baker, visited Belgrade on the eve of war between Serbia and Croatia. He was unimpressed: "Up to my ass in Pygmies," was one off-camera judgment. "There were three or four of them, and one of me," he recalled. "They were the aerial image analysis people and had done this for the Gulf war — the guys who tell the air force what can and can't be done. They know what they're talking about." He said the team produced several clear aerial photos showing unprotected heavy guns around Sarajevo. "I said: 'Gosh, this stuff looks vulnerable. It was sitting in fields or parked beside the road. They said yes, it sure did. And on the basis of their experience of Iraq, 95 per cent of it could be eliminated in one single day of air strikes — right at the start of the siege.'"

The first mutterings about using force against the Serbs accompanied the sieges of Vukovar and Dubrovnik in 1991. "But," recalls Mr Zimmermann, "There was no call for air power at that time. I should have done that. I should have recommended it but I didn't." That November, five months before Bosnia's war began, Mr Zimmermann did propose a United Nations peacekeeping force for Bosnia — a preventative deployment in a menacing situation. The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, reflected recently that 20,000 soldiers would have "collapsed" his plans. But Mr Zimmermann was overruled by the UN envoy, Cyrus Vance. Another military initiative, of the sea-change was department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler, whose job was to deliver the line. But colleagues recall her close to tears of rage, pleading "I can't lie to the press" and pressing Mr Baker to take a tougher line. After the Sarajevo bread queue massacre in May, 1992, she had slammed the Washington Post onto her desk and said: "We need a new policy." The most formidable opposition to engaging the Serbs came from the Vietnam-weary Pentagon, under the then joint chiefs chairman, General Colin Powell. Officials recall how the chiefs of staff turned up at deputies committee sessions at the White House saying no US military personnel could be put at risk. "They would never say 'we can't do that'. They would say things were very costly or dangerous, like 'it'll take 100,000 men to secure a corridor from Split to Sarajevo'. It was a disgrace. Cowardly and insidious, the way they carried on," said Mr Zimmermann. The CIA was similarly negative. One diplomat saw a letter from President Bush to a mutual friend, saying he had been told intervention would cost "millions of men and countless lives". "They were terrified of mission creep," said one official. "Once the war was raging, the US military secretly opposed basic operations. In private, the joint chiefs contested the no-fly zone, the Sarajevo airlift, and air-drops of food into the eastern enclaves." Meanwhile, the military was streamlining viable options for intervention, in case ordered in by the president. But, the Guardian has learned, the viable options were locked away in a safe by Gen Powell himself. Not one of the senior civilian appointees to the Pentagon under President Clinton has ever known where they are. In the final weeks of the Bush presidency, 12 interventionists opened a formal dissent channel against Mr Eagleburger with a counter-policy. It was, says one of its authors, "a strategy to defeat and contain the Serbs". The US should lead a coalition of those willing to provide arms and close air support to a Bosnian-Croat alliance. The memo was drafted in Mr Eagleburger's office on October 11 with the run-around, some quibbles about the Vietnam quagmire, and a plan to reform the state department. "I met Eagleburger much later," says the author. "And I said: 'Couldn't more have been done 250,000 lives ago? History will be a harsh judge of all this.' He seemed very uncomfortable. 'Don't give me that history crap,' he said."



'We do deserts, we don't do mountains,' was how General Colin Powell justified American intervention in Somalia rather than Bosnia



'It was a disgrace. Cowardly and insidious, the way they carried on.' The refusal of the chiefs of staff to act infuriated Warren Zimmermann.



James Baker: as secretary of state he was reluctant to involve America in the conflict in the Balkans



Cyrus Vance: before the war had begun, the UN envoy rejected plans for preventative peacekeepers

President-Bush's team included, by chance, powerful veterans of service in Belgrade. Mr Baker's number two was Lawrence Eagleburger, who had promoted Yugoslav trade and financial interests in the West. His national security adviser was Brent Scowcroft, another old Belgrade hand. "We had come to form our views on Yugoslavia from Belgrade," said one senior official. "The Croats were 'dangerous coffee-house trouble-makers'. The Muslims were fictitious mystics. They didn't exist." The Belgrade ambassador was Warren Zimmermann, who later resigned from the diplomatic service in protest at US policy. He now admits: "We wanted to hold Yugoslavia together. The analysis

The preliminary war began in the summer between Serbia and Croatia, and one official recalled: "The great fear in the state department was that if the war was one-sided, America would get drawn in. So the tasking was to stop it appearing one-sided and get the dirt on the Croats." One diplomat added: "It was the most polluted analytical environment I knew in 25 years' service." Across the middle ranks of state were younger diplomats anxious that America play a role in defence of Croatia and later Bosnia. "The break-up of Yugoslavia was a done deal." The question was what kind of break-up would it be? Although we couldn't change this piece of history, we could shape it significantly," was how one described their view. This time from Europe, was quashed by the US. A senior state department source revealed three approaches by France to mobilise preventative peacekeepers in Bosnia. The offers, made during the second half of 1991, were to send 6,000 paratroopers if the US would match them. "The idea was that Britain wouldn't be left out and the Dutch might contribute — a credible force of 20,000," said the source. "I wrote a paper in December saying we have got to match the French — a cheap and effective way to forestall violent partition and massive atrocities." French military sources have confirmed the scheme. But, said the US source: "It was fought off. Mr Baker said he never saw my memo. I was told the idea was vetoed by

of the sea-change was department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler, whose job was to deliver the line. But colleagues recall her close to tears of rage, pleading "I can't lie to the press" and pressing Mr Baker to take a tougher line. After the Sarajevo bread queue massacre in May, 1992, she had slammed the Washington Post onto her desk and said: "We need a new policy." The most formidable opposition to engaging the Serbs came from the Vietnam-weary Pentagon, under the then joint chiefs chairman, General Colin Powell. Officials recall how the chiefs of staff turned up at deputies committee sessions at the White House saying no US military personnel could be put at risk. "They would never say 'we can't do that'. They would say things were very costly or dangerous, like 'it'll take 100,000 men to secure a corridor from Split to Sarajevo'. It was a disgrace. Cowardly and insidious, the way they carried on," said Mr Zimmermann. The CIA was similarly negative. One diplomat saw a letter from President Bush to a mutual friend, saying he had been told intervention would cost "millions of men and countless lives". "They were terrified of mission creep," said one official. "Once the war was raging, the US military secretly opposed basic operations. In private, the joint chiefs contested the no-fly zone, the Sarajevo airlift, and air-drops of food into the eastern enclaves." Meanwhile, the military was streamlining viable options for intervention, in case ordered in by the president. But, the Guardian has learned, the viable options were locked away in a safe by Gen Powell himself. Not one of the senior civilian appointees to the Pentagon under President Clinton has ever known where they are. In the final weeks of the Bush presidency, 12 interventionists opened a formal dissent channel against Mr Eagleburger with a counter-policy. It was, says one of its authors, "a strategy to defeat and contain the Serbs". The US should lead a coalition of those willing to provide arms and close air support to a Bosnian-Croat alliance. The memo was drafted in Mr Eagleburger's office on October 11 with the run-around, some quibbles about the Vietnam quagmire, and a plan to reform the state department. "I met Eagleburger much later," says the author. "And I said: 'Couldn't more have been done 250,000 lives ago? History will be a harsh judge of all this.' He seemed very uncomfortable. 'Don't give me that history crap,' he said."

With the election of November lost to Bill Clinton, Mr Bush had a final trick up his sleeve: intervention in Somalia. "There was no intent," said one senior planner at state. "That Somalia was instead of Bosnia, a way of staying out of Bosnia." "We do deserts, we don't do mountains," was Gen Powell's famous statement, contrasting Bosnia with the Somalia. Mr Eagleburger delivered a celebrated swan song which some colleagues say marked a coming-round on Bosnia, branding President Milosevic and others as war criminals. Meanwhile, behind the scenes, a powerful player was moving in to wreak havoc in Washington: Britain. Eyes were now on Mr Clinton, whose campaign against Mr Bush's Bosnia policy had appeared robust. In the event, judged one diplomat: "Clinton was mugged. Not just by the same old bureaucracy, but by Europe too, and Britain in particular."

Wily Karadzic foxes Bildt over promise to resign

Julian Borger in Zagreb INTERNATIONAL mediators in Bosnia claimed yesterday to have won a promise from Serb separatists that Radovan Karadzic, the indicted war criminal, would step down from power. But the Serbs almost immediately denied making a deal, saying only that their leader had delegated some duties as self-styled president to his deputy. The denial from the Serb stronghold in Pale was a blow for the international community's high representative in Bosnia, Carl Bildt. He believed he had manoeuvred the Serb leader into a corner, but may himself have been outwitted by hardline separatists, who appear to have strengthened their hand after the weekend talks. Colum Murphy, Mr Bildt's spokesman, said Mr Bildt was assured by the Serb parliamentary speaker, Momcilo Krajsnik, that Mr Karadzic would disappear from sight. "We have an under-

standing that Karadzic would not be seen or heard from," said Mr Murphy. The apparent agreement for Mr Karadzic to step down came after discussions in Belgrade on Saturday between Mr Bildt and the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, and all-night talks in Pale. But when an official from Mr Bildt's office returned to Pale yesterday to translate the understanding into a legal document, he left empty-handed. The Serb news agency, SRNA, then issued its denial. The agency quoted sources close to Mr Krajsnik as saying such "instructions were unfounded and were just another premeditated method of exerting pressure" on the Bosnian Serb leadership. The confusion about Mr Karadzic's future role was compounded by an earlier announcement that he would hand over responsibility for relations with the international community to his "vice-president", Biljana Plavsic, another hardliner.

Mr Karadzic and his military commander, General Ratko Mladic, have been widely viewed as the greatest obstacles to the success of the Dayton peace settlement. Both have been indicted for war crimes after their bloody 43-month attempt to carve an ethnically pure Serb statelet out of Bosnia, and have blocked attempts to implement the treaty's clauses on the country's re-integration. As Mr Bildt flew to Athens last night to report to the "Contact Group" of international diplomats overseeing the implementation of the Dayton accord, there was confusion over how much power, if any, Mr Karadzic had yielded. During the weekend talks, the hardliners around the wily ex-psychiatrist appear to have strengthened their position. In return for Mr Karadzic's "retirement", the international community agreed to drop its recognition of Mr Karadzic's most threatening rival, the pro-Dayton prime minister, Rafko Kasagic.

The Bosnian Serb "republic" looked close to splitting last week, when Mr Kasagic ignored his dismissal by Mr Karadzic, and rallied moderate opponents of the regime in the western city of Banja Luka, with the open support of Mr Bildt and other international organisations. The international community will now deal instead with Gokko Kljickovic, a Karadzic nominee approved on Saturday by the Bosnian Serb

assembly in a session dominated by Serb Democratic Party hardliners. An official in Mr Bildt's office conceded last night that one of Mr Kljickovic's initial acts would probably be "to go to Banja Luka and dismantle the opposition". Soon after his appointment, Mr Kljickovic ruled out the early return of Muslim and Croat refugees to their pre-war homes on Serb-held territory. Mr Bildt has clearly put the

Serb leader on to the defensive, but his critics argue he is concentrating excessively on Mr Karadzic, and has failed to take into account the deep roots of the SDS machine. "This could just be a shuffling of the cards," said one veteran observer from the UN mission. But Mr Murphy said the sidelining of the Bosnian Serb leader would start a process of weakening the control of the hardliners.

"Of course it's a real shot. You wouldn't think I would manufacture a toilet, would you? There are lots of outside toilets in Britain." Mike Leigh on his latest film. G2 page 4

Mr Karadzic loses his grip

At least we hope that he has

IS Radovan Karadzic really on the way out? That would be a remarkable outcome from a weekend of Bosnian confusion and intrigue. Unfortunately the optimism of the mediator Carl Bildt is unlikely to be justified without a great deal more effort from the international community which he represents.

The chances of a multi-ethnic outcome were already negligible before US intelligence officials in Washington said so — and made sure their version got out in the New York Times on Friday. Both the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Sarajevo government have been quite happy to see the Sarajevo suburbs stripped of their industrial machinery, and then abandoned by most Serb residents under pressure from Pale. Those who remained were soon subject to intimidation by the incoming Muslim administration. The Serb regime has preferred instead to concentrate the new refugees in areas such as Brcko and Srebrenica to ensure their ethnic dominance.

The international force in Bosnia has turned a blind eye to the worst violations. Nato proves to be as weak as the much-maligned UN — indeed weaker, since it is now operating under conditions of peace which should make its task easier. The latest incident this weekend shows there is still no attempt to deter Serb intimidation of refugees passing through their territory or seeking to return home.

IF cracks in the Bosnian Serb regime really are beginning to appear, then it is all the more important for the member states behind IFOR to speed up the process by adopting a tougher stand. First, they must declare their intention of ensuring by military means if necessary that the Dayton provisions are carried out, particularly on the return of refugees. Second, they should postpone the arbitrary cut-off date of December 20, after which the Nato peacekeeping force is supposed to disappear. As The Guardian has argued all along and Washington (which set the date) is beginning to realise, this will be a bug-out to disaster.

Dangerous donors

No more foreign money for our parties

MEANWHILE anyone rash enough to doubt that even a weakened Mr Karadzic still has gas in his tank only needed to study the domestic pages of the weekend newspapers. The allegation that Bosnian Serb sources may have donated more than £100,000 to the Conservative Party during 1992-94 is as hotly disputed by Central Office as one would expect. Yet many of the facts listed in the Sunday Times article yesterday have not been denied, and the speed with which Brian Mawhinney and his team tried to hose the story down yesterday shows just how deadly dangerous a claim it is.

The full story will have to await further information. Yet circumstantially the Bosnian Serb allegation is only too plausible. The Conservative Party is in serious financial difficulty, and was in an even worse state when the alleged payments were being discussed. Membership is down. Many rich backers have never forgiven the party for dumping Lady Thatcher and have turned off the funding tap accordingly. Others, including several corporate donors, have decided not to pour further money into what looks like a lost electoral cause. Some have even begun flirting with the Labour Party instead. But the party's need for money makes it more interested than ever in big donations, including big foreign donations. And in any case, given the offshore base of so much of contemporary capitalism — Serbian as well as British — it is not always easy to be sure what is a foreign donation and what is not.

The larger point here is that this is not the first time that foreigners may have tried to bankroll the Conservative Party. What is more, under the very inadequate rules governing party funding, it is most unlikely to be the last. The Conservative Party says it will not accept money from foreign governments, heads of state, anonymous sources or from criminals. But there is no ban on foreign donations. Indeed the party has actively sought to promote Britain as a haven for foreign tax exiles who have responded gratefully by writing cheques to the Tories. The Conservatives have also pioneered the raising of funds abroad during the last decade, trading largely on Lady Thatcher's reputation. Other countries — including the United States, Canada and most EU member states — do not allow foreign nationals to make donations to their political parties. We are an exception. We are repeating what we have seen.

It is high time that all questions concerning party funding were referred to the Nolan Committee and incorporated into effective rules. The Conservatives responded to yesterday's claims with the counter-allegation that Labour also has much to hide in its financial links with the trades unions. There is undeniably some truth there, though Labour has pledged itself to a much more open system of accountability than the Tories have ever done. But in any case, the Conservatives are missing the main point about the Serbian case. The trade unions and their members are British citizens and taxpayers. Foreign donors like Asif Nadir, John Latsis, Octav Botnar and various Hong Kong business leaders are not. Nor is Radovan Karadzic. That is the fact about Conservative Party funding that sticks in the craw of the average voter, and quite rightly so.



Letters to the Editor

Cycle of terror

THOSE who take some interest in the protection of children at risk know that breaking the cycle of terror endemic in child abuse is paramount. If you stop the abusers, you stop the abuse. If the money donated to NCH Action for Children by the late Arthur Mullard (Doubts over legacy of 'abuser' actor, May 18) helps to rehabilitate the perpetrators of child abuse or the hidden pain of defenceless children, then it should be readily accepted. Unless, of course, you can think of a better way of using it.

(C) Nick Nolan, Coventry City Council, Earl Street, Coventry CV1 5RR.

BY adopting the slogan "Yes it hurt. Yes it worked", the Conservatives proclaimed themselves the party of economic pragmatism. Alastair Bruce, 49 Rowland Road, London SW6 6AF.

Tragedy of Irian Jaya

THE RECENT murders of two Indonesian hostages by members of the OPM was a terrible tragedy, not just for the victims, but also for the West Papuan people. For more than 30 years they have been subjected to an occupation by Indonesia which has stolen their land, attempted to destroy their culture and killed up to 200,000 (including five members of OPM leader Kelly Kwalik's family in October, 1994).

The Guardian report (Hostages weep for their friend, May 18) quoted the Indonesian special forces commander as saying that his men would fight to the last drop of blood to cleanse Irian Jaya and the rest of Indonesia of "security disturbance movements". Their past record of brutality and murder in West Papua and East Timor, not least the Irian Jaya's native language with which to communicate

with the world, while the Dutch, far from sympathetic, prefer to fatten their own blood-and-money rule. The Papuans have no say in the enterprises established to exploit their homeland — they profit nothing from the minerals or the hardwoods sold to the West, the timber which begins as the rainforest on which their lives depend. What were the British hostages doing in Irian Jaya in the first place, and what was their research designed to facilitate?

The Papuans, in the murder of the two Indonesian/Javanese, did not act in any dark, whimsical brutality. Oppressed and isolated, they are perfectly sensitive to the political and economic horror being practised upon them, and what they did was a desperate but a wholly political act. Leo Schulte, 2 The Woodlands, Aberdeen Park, London N5 2BE.

Apply the breaks or change gear over the future of transport? YOUR leader (May 17), notes that there is nothing left in Labour's latest transport document that would "scare the chickens". This may be a strength of sorts, but don't some of the following facts scare chickens, particularly those crossing the road? Road traffic is forecast to double in 25 years; at least 10,000 people annually die prematurely due to exhaust emissions; the cost of congestion has reached £18 billion per year; respiratory illnesses such as asthma are dramatically on the increase.

Labour are making valid points about the need to "persuade people to use (cars) differently". They must now see that it is time politicians saw the problems differently too. A sustainable transport policy must involve setting targets for traffic reduction. The Road Traffic Reduction Bill sets targets; Labour's failure to back it means I find it hard to take their policies seriously. Sarah Hill, 80 Onslow Gardens, London N10 3JX.

to interrupt its northern panorama over Falvergate Marshes. It is this commanding position which betrays something of Gariannonum's original function. Throughout the second century, Roman England was harassed by pirates from Germany and Denmark. In order to ward off the raiders, the Count of the Saxon, one of three principal Roman officers in Britain, erected a series of forts around England's east coast. Gariannonum, with its sister fort at Caister just north of Yarmouth, was intended to stop incursions up the River Yare and into the economically important heartland of East Anglia. However, one force the Romans couldn't halt was the sea. During their British heyday the area visible to the north of Burgh Castle was one vast estuary, Yarmouth itself under water, while Caister Port, now at the easternmost extremity of Norfolk's "bulge", was situated on an island.

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Age of enlightenment and unemployment for the older generation

SUZANNE Moore's article (Talkin' out my generation, May 16) is based on misconceptions. The majority of people do not work until 60 and 65 and then "drop dead" 10 years later. The dominant trend in Britain and Western Europe for the past 20 years has been early exit from the labour market. The world she imagines where people retire at the pension age is open to only a privileged minority, with the choice to continue working. The majority, who have not built up sufficient resources to finance early retirement, have no choice but to keep looking for work in a hostile labour market. People are living longer and, with health and activity closely linked, why should people be forced to leave work because of age discrimination?



remain rooted in theory, not practice. Andrew Craddockbank, Loch View Cottage, Invermoreston, Inverness-shire IV3 6YE.

WHEN I was in the first year at school and asked to learn tennis, I was told that preference was given to the fifth year. When I reached the fifth year I again asked, to be told that preference would be given to first years — hence I never learnt to play tennis. I have experienced a similar situation in life. When I was young in the late 1930s and early 60s, young people were not listened to, not given any credence and did not hold down the top jobs. One had to respect middle age (whether deserved or not). Now over 50, I am surprised (although I shouldn't be) to find that the top jobs go to people in their 30s and we are being told to retire after 50. What do I live on till I get my state pension at 60 and personal pension at 65?

FEW people would recognise Roger Harrabin's description of "political parties favouring over drivers" (Guardian Society, May 15). What most politicians should understand, and Roger Harrabin does not, is that giving Britain's motorists a fairer deal and improving public transport are not mutually exclusive aims. Many of those Harrabin describes as being "excluded from the motoring classes" are catered for by family or friends who have cars. The number of these "escort trips" has doubled since the 1970s as car ownership has grown. For those without access to cars, it is clear that public transport needs to be improved. But this will not be achieved by penalising car drivers or levelling down the majority to the condition of the car-less minority. The growth in car travel has changed society, and for the vast majority it has provided independence and access to new opportunities beyond the dreams of earlier generations. Which serious political party would want to reverse such progress? Edmund King, RAC Motoring Services, 14 Cockspur Street, London SW1Y 5SL.

A Country Diary

BURGH CASTLE, NORFOLK. Gariannonum, to give this fort its Roman title, must be the most spectacular but least visited site in Norfolk. Built about 100AD, much of the original outer walls still stand. These massive fortifications measure 188 by 116 metres, and in parts are over four metres high, making this one of the best preserved Roman shore forts. Yet, strangely, one seldom has to share Gariannonum with many visitors. It also seems symptomatic of its history of neglect that until recently it was a place for car boot sales, pony trials and horse fairs. Only last year were the fort and its environs bought for the nation by a group including English Heritage, the Broads Authority and the Countryside Commission. Fortunately, its new owners, the Norfolk Archaeological Trust, apart from reinstating hedgerows and erecting some discreet interpretive panels, wish to retain its powerful but understated atmosphere. Nothing will be done

Men that vanished from the front pages

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley TRAVELLING south from Birmingham last Thursday I met an old friend from the AEU. Perhaps he was from the AE and EU. For since I last thought about these things, engineers have amalgamated with electricians and initials have no doubt changed as well. And not only initials. As we talked about developments in the engineering union — the move from the historic headquarters in Peckham and the consultant's report on improving efficiency — a shameful truth suddenly occurred to me, though not, I hope, to my companion. I did not know the names of the new president and general secretary of Britain's premier craft union. Part of the reason for that deplorable state of affairs was personal. It is a long time since I collected block votes in support of policy improvements and national executive endorsements for my candidacy in Labour Party elections. In those days I knew

the names, the addresses and the telephone numbers. I was usually too embarrassed to write or to ring, but the possession of all the essential information made me feel that I was expediting like a properly extroverted politician. But remember in mitigation of my ignorance, that 10 years ago, no one could open a newspaper without reading about the life and work of every British trade union leader. And back in the 1970s everything they did was front page news. If the unions are still a force to be reckoned with, they are now using their powers incognito.

It is tempting to attribute the new invisibility to two simple causes, both of them expressed in the language of traditional parlour opposition to all that the unions were and stood for. "Margaret Thatcher put them in their place and Tony Blair knew that they were an electoral liability." Those explanations describe symptoms rather than causes of decline. The hard — and to sentimentalists like me painful — fact is that old style trade unions were essentially 19th-century institutions. These days, it is almost impossible to believe that a Labour deputy leader and foreign secretary once opposed British membership of the European coal and steel

community because "the Durham miners won't have it." That view seems absurd today not because Margaret Thatcher destroyed all centres of competing power or as a result of Tony Blair's mission to modernise. The Durham miners are no longer politically important because there are virtually no Durham miners. The same rule applies to the industries in which mass production once encouraged workers solidar-

ity. It is hard to talk about class interest and collective action, to information technologists who work for three companies a week, two of them from home and all of them on short term contracts. At this point I ought to pay the passing tribute of a sigh and express my gratitude to the unions for creating the

unions as a political force are over. They never were a power in a positive sense. Once upon a time, they could destroy governments — Conservatives by head-on challenge in 1970 and Labour by attrition in 1974. But they never put one in power. Now — as I believe John Monks, the TUC general secretary would agree — they have to influence, rather than coerce, cabinets of both persuasions. So I guess that, unless we have one of those pointless personality forays — like Jack Dromey's challenge to Bill Morris in the Transport and General last year — we shall not see the results of our national newspapers. Somewhere, in the industrial Midlands, a man who once visited Albania will be elected to local office and Dr Brian Mawhinney will announce that the Bolshevik Revolution is just around the corner. But nobody will believe him. In their historic form, the unions had about 100 years of heroic life. Then they had to change or die. Some of my colleagues think that the Labour Party is in the same position. But that is another story.

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Hatiya Diary

John Vidal

THE SIRENS wail and two mothers weep as they cradle children's heads in their laps. Some cling to trees and others flounder in a lake. Half a dozen featherweight houses have been flattened and hundreds of people have run to a concrete cyclone shelter at the edge of the village. Two stretcher bearers slip and stumble with their load; they lay a child's body on a stretcher and, exhausted, then go back for more.

The hurricane-force cyclone that formed two days ago in the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal moved northwards at 20 mph. It whipped up the sea and the 20 foot tidal surge easily overcame the embankments designed merely to keep saline waters off paddy fields. Charabata village in Sadharam district four miles from the coast was drowned in seconds.

But this is fiction, an elaborate piece of theatre involving the whole village and directed by Red Crescent volunteers to press home the dangers of life in one of the world's most vulnerable places. Everyone knows it may have been a death rehearsal; sooner or later, the big cyclone is inevitable, say the scientists. In 1970, 500,000 people died. In 1991 more than 130,000.

Sokina Khatun only just escaped in 1991. She lives in the south east of Hatiya island, right in the mouth of the Ganges. She lost her first husband in the 1970 cyclone. She recalls 1991: "It was a disaster that came from above. I ran outside and saved myself by clinging to a tree." Her second husband and four of her children died.

Several cyclonic storms are becoming more common, says Abdul Choudhury, head of the Bangladesh Space Research committee, which tracks them as they build up at sea. Last week one headed for Hatiya, but even as the warnings went out and people prepared to evacuate, it veered east, passing relatively harmlessly over the Chittagong Hill tracts.

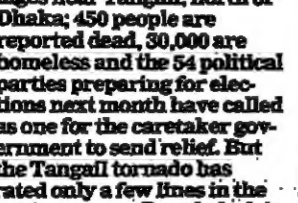
It's not just the coastline that is vulnerable. Last week a tornado came from nowhere to flatten 80 inland villages near Tangail, north of Dhaka; 450 people are reported dead, 30,000 are homeless and the 54 political parties preparing for elections next month have called as one for the caretaker government to send relief. But the Tangail tornado has rated only a few lines in the western press. Bangladesh is used to the world paying scant attention: last year it was barely reported that hundreds of thousands of homes were destroyed by huge floods in the north west.

OTHER disasters are man-made. Massive population growth — 100 million people now in a land the size of the British Isles, and expected to double within two generations — has concentrated people into the most vulnerable areas. India is blamed for disturbing water supplies and lowering the water table by building the Farakka barrage just over the border; salinity is increasing throughout the coastal plain as less fresh water is flushed through Bangladesh. The crops do not grow. Life is harder.

Back on Hatiya Island, Murir Gidin blames deforestation in the Himalayas for a very bad Tuesday. He has dismantled his house and every piece of wood, every nail and screw, is being loaded on a truck. The north of the island is being lost to erosion and the sea, advances more than a metre a day, is just a week or two from his door. Six thousand people a year have to move on Hatiya. They take with them their foundations, the palm trees, even the roads, which they dig up to re-use as hardcover.

The island is roughly in balance, gaining land as fast as it is losing it; millions of tons of sediments are deposited each year. Every where on the coastal belt land is breaking the surface and claims as soon as it appears. "Nothing is permanent here," says Paul Hunsan Das, a teacher. Hatiya has lost 80 square miles to the sea in the last 20 years and Paul has lost several acres and a house. "The land goes like rice," he says, pointing to a sand bar on the horizon. "One day my children's children may live there. Or it may be taken back by the waves." A wedding party processions along the newly formed embankment. "The water only plays one part," he says.

WHERE THE HOLY ARE BROWN AND HANDELSON?



pages

How the President was brought to book

Commentary

Mark Lawson

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton has been responsible, during three years in office, for a remarkable amount of fiction. This is not meant — as some commentators would intend it — as a reference to his accounts of his involvement in the Whitewater scandal. I mean it literally. The short Clinton administration has already inspired an improbable number of novels and movies.

Everybody knows about Primary Colors, that almost word-for-word account of the 1992 primary campaign of a Southern governor and his hard-faced wife. But while Primary Colors was at number one in the American best-seller lists, another extraordinary piece of political fiction was in second place. Absolute Power by David Baldacci, published by Simon & Schuster in Britain on June 10 — deserves to make its author quite as famous as Primary Colors made "Anonymous".

Absolute Power has a brilliantly compelling premise: if the current incumbent of the White House — will not be able to avoid, in their minds, superimposing the features of Bill Clinton over those of Alan Richmond. The novel is

murder, could be set away with it? Baldacci's fictional commander-in-chief is Alan Richmond, a Democrat in his mid-40s. He has a liking, which the Secret Service indulges and protects, for rough sex with the wives of his friends in commandeered country houses. During one such venture, the drunken Richmond becomes so violent with his date that she tries to stab him with a paperknife. The woman is killed in the resulting struggle and the White House's attempt to cover-up the murder.

In one of the key passages of the book, an inadvertent witness to the killing reflects on the meaning of what he has seen: "The President of the United States was a drunk, an adulterer and a woman beater. He smiled to the press, kissed babies and flirted with enchanted old women, held important meetings, flew around the world as his country's leader, and he was a fucking asshole who then beat them up and got them killed."

Absolute Power is a brilliant thriller but it is also a highly significant cultural product. American readers, whatever their politics or their attitude towards the current incumbent of the White House — will not be able to avoid, in their minds, superimposing the features of Bill Clinton over those of Alan Richmond. The novel is

as much a spin-off from his administration as is Primary Colors. The paragraph quoted above could not and would not have been written before the 1992 election. It could never have arisen from the administrations of Bush or Reagan; not even, in those specifics, from the Nixon White House. It is a book written by, and for, voters believing their leader capable of almost any depravity. A third novel of the current American literary season — The Campaign, co-written by Marilyn Quayle, wife of the American spelling champion of 1992 — also features a Democratic president implicated in murder.

Of course, Clinton is not the first political leader to be brought to book. John F Kennedy has inspired more fictions than any other president: among them, Richard Condon's Winter Kills, Mario Puzo's The Fourth Deadly Sin and Warren Beatty movie The Parallax View. Thriller fiction of the sixties and seventies is packed with glamorous but doomed young Democrats. Richard Nixon also provided much fodder for novels, including Robert Coover's The Public Burning and Philip Roth's Our Gang. Margaret Thatcher's unique gender among prime ministers makes her difficult to hide in fiction — the BBC legal department actively warns dramatists against creating fictional female PMs unless they

be say, black, and in the year 2070 — but she has cropped up as more or less herself in books including Ian McEwan's The Child in Time and Philip Hensher's recent Kitchen Venom.

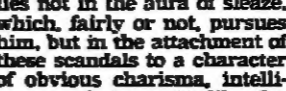
Yet in order to inspire so many writers, Kennedy, Nixon and Thatcher had to become, respectively, a martyr, a monster and a myth. The bizarre thing about Clinton is that he has got the word processors purring merely by serving a largely unremarkable term. Yet, as well as the three novels described above, his presence lies behind the Kevin Kline movie Dave — in which a president has a stroke while having adulterous sex — and last year's Michael Douglas film, The American President, a (for once) highly sympathetic account of the

Much of the fiction clearly draws on the body of alleged fact

problems of a middle-aged Democratic president.

In these multiple Clinton fictions, these narrative shadows, we understand something of the complex position of the 42nd president occupies in American life. He is the first occupant of the Oval Office to have been openly accused — by right-wing radio hosts and journalists — of complicity in murder, which some allege to have been the true fate of Vincent Foster, the Clinton aide who committed suicide two years ago. (Suicides provoked by presidential conduct are a feature of both Primary Colors and Absolute Power.) No previous president came to power so dogged by accusations of sexual and financial misconduct. Much of the fic-

Official bluster and a load of ballistics



Paul Foot

TO BE denounced as "preposterous" by Mr David Maclean, Minister of State at the Home Office, is the highest possible accolade for any investigative journalist. Channel Four's Dispatches last month about the shooting of WPC Yvonne Fletcher outside the Libyan embassy has done even better. In a recent Commons speech about the programme, Mr Maclean used the P-word seven times, with an "obscene", an "offensive" and a "feverish" thrown in.

Tam Dalyell, who initiated the debate, asked the minister eight questions. The 1984 shooting of WPC Fletcher, he reminded the House, was one of the most notorious crimes of recent times, and had profound political consequences. The official story was that she had been shot in the hall of bullets fired from the first floor of the embassy at demonstrators in the square outside. The programme produced expert evidence to suggest that the bullet which killed her came from a different building, higher up.

This was the original conclusion of the Home Office pathologist, Dr Ian West, when he first examined the policewoman's body. He wrote: "The track of the bullet would indicate that she was shot from the upper floors of an adjacent building." At the inquest, however, Dr West concluded: "Her injuries were entirely consistent with a shot fired from the first floor of the embassy."

Tam Dalyell pointed out that two top forensic consultants and an experienced ballistics expert now supported West's original view. Dalyell also asked about the programme's suggestions that the shooting of Yvonne Fletcher was the work of British or American intelligence officers, who knew in advance of the proposed attack on the demonstration, and who organised another shooting to stoke up hostility to the Libyan regime.

Dalyell's questions were supported to the hilt by Teddy Taylor, Tory MP for Southend East, who described Mr Maclean as "one of the straight and honourable ministers". Maclean's reply to these courteous questions was to denounce the programme as "preposterous trash" and then, by way of a change, over and over again as "preposterous".

He refused to answer anything about the security services, and dealt with Dr West's "extraordinary change of view" by the time-honoured technique of ignoring it. Interrupted by an astonished Tam Dalyell, Maclean explained that

he was not attacking the experts — only the programme, which was almost exclusively based on the evidence of the experts.

Long years at the Home Office dealing with criminal justice had taught Maclean that a useful tactic for ministers when attacking campaigners against injustice is to denounce them for causing distress to the victims' families. "I do not know," he told the Commons, "what hurt they [the programme makers] have caused the parents of WPC Fletcher".

Perhaps he did not know, either, that the dead woman's parents were listening to him in the gallery, hoping for some answers to the questions which had been worrying them for 12 years. Mrs Queenie Fletcher tells me she had no objection at all to the programme. "The brought out into the open what we've heard from lots of other people" — and that she was not at all impressed with Maclean's bluffness and bluster. "We just felt he hadn't got anywhere with his line. 'You didn't stop to think about it'".

MACLEAN'S speech was typical of the Thatcherite rump in the Commons, who have nothing left to offer but their arrogance. The best example of this on the back benches is the undistinguished journalist and Thatcher knight, Sir George Gardiner. I feel obliged to correct a report in Saturday's Guardian about his problems with his local Tory party. The report disclosed that the Rutland Tories' executive voted 15-14 to allow other candidates to stand against Sir George "despite him threatening to resign immediately if he lost that vote". The ward "despite" should plainly have read "as a result".

THE university league tables for 1995 put Chester College of Higher Education top of the "first class honours" list — a staggering 33 per cent of all degrees there were first class (compared to 15.1 per cent at Oxford). This was especially remarkable since Chester College does not even feature on the league table of "entry requirement average points", based on the number and grades of A levels required for entry.

A closer study of the two lists reveals a host of similar contradictions. How to explain them? My friend Colwyn Williamson, who teaches philosophy at the University College of Swansea, and was in London at the week-end for a meeting of Cafas (Campaign for Academic Freedom and Standards), helped me out with a few tips. "Fuge cuts in government funding for universities and the increased competition between them mean that more and more students are being taught by fewer and fewer teachers. Yet in general the degree results get better and better. The pressure is on all the time to give the appearance of higher academic standards when those standards in fact are dropping."

James Hanson argues that Tony Blair's poll lead could be wiped out if the Tories concentrated on attacking Labour where it is most vulnerable — on taxation policy

Making tracks on tax

CAN THE Conservatives win the next election? Even after the recent council elections, the answer is that they probably can. Provided that from now until the election they concentrate on their true opponent: "New Labour and its policies.

That this impression is not wishful thinking on my part is underlined by the latest NOP poll, which concentrated on voters' attitudes to tax, and by some recent comments on the poll by Ken Livingstone (Coming clean on taxation will bring dividends, Guardian, May 6).

According to the poll only 13 per cent of voters believe the official Labour line that taxes will be cut by a Labour government as the economy improves. And only 32 per cent believe that tax rises under Labour will be confined to the "well off." Some 41 per cent believe positively that Labour will put up everyone's taxes, a figure Livingstone says should set alarm bells ringing in Labour's Media Centre.

No doubt this is because 41 per cent of the popular vote would be just about enough to return a Conservative government (in 1992, John Major won with 42.7 per cent of the popular vote). While few of that 41 per cent might actually want to be clobbered by Labour, as Livingstone puts it, the overall trends revealed in the NOP poll confirm Labour's own internal research, which shows that substantial numbers of voters still regard themselves as Tories even though they may not plan to vote Conservative.

If this section of the population were actually to vote Conservative, as well they might in a general election, Labour's internal polls report that its lead would be reduced to 2 or 3 per cent. All this, of course, before anyone knows what New Labour would do with the economy. When that becomes clearer, Labour's lead could vanish completely. Certainly it could, and should, if Livingstone's own thinking on the matter in any way reflects the policy yet to be revealed.

In the first place, Livingstone enthusiastically endorses the widely held belief that Labour would put up taxes on those earning more than £50,000 a year. This, he says, would be morally and politically right, though he admits that the £2 billion it would raise is only small change in the context of government expenditure. (The Public Sector Borrowing Requirement is currently running at £23.2 billion.)

As the figure of £50,000 seems to have become firmly entrenched, it is worth emphasising that an income of £50,000 is neither uncommon nor does it constitute great wealth. Many people in middle management and the public services (some head teachers, hospital administrators) earn £50,000 or more and most of them are heavily committed financially, with large mortgages, children to bring



up, elderly parents to care for and so on.

Those earning around £50,000 are not necessarily rich. More to the point, people at that level, or the many more aspiring to reach it, are precisely those whom New Labour needs to convince, if it is to have any claim to reflect professional or managerial opinion. That's unlikely to happen. So why is New Labour so keen to hit them and to punish their perfectly legitimate aspirations? Especially when the return would be so small.

Livingstone's suggestion that New Labour ought to increase taxes at £50,000, "if only to reassure the others," has ominous overtones. It is all too reminiscent of old Labour's desire to punish its traditional resisters of success and hard work, whether or not the effects of such pandering are helpful either financially or electorally.

In any case, as Livingstone admits quite candidly, a New Labour government would need to raise £20 billion more in order to "rebuild our welfare state and drag British investment up to European levels". £20 billion! Is he serious?

So where will the other £27 billion come from? Not, he says, from income tax (after all, New Labour does not want to dishearten its political supporters), but from compulsory dividends. Ah! Now we are getting very close to old Labour. Hit the unearned income of the "fat cats" and let a thousand flowers bloom in the public services.

However, things are not as simple as that, as a moment's reflection will show. Even if dividends could be transferred to government by what Livingstone chillingly calls "imaginative" use of company and tax law, rather than simply disappearing as inter-

national capital haemorrhages out of the City once the policy is announced, there is no reason to suppose that ministers and civil servants would be any more productive at investing it than those professionals who daily are concerned to secure straightforward profit on their investments.

Indeed, if we consider the sorry history of previous Labour attempts to invest public funds in industry, we must expect them to do a lot worse. The state-run British car industry collapsed, not just despite being bankrolled by the taxpayer for years, but probably because of it. Those government funds were used largely on producing uncompetitive cars which nobody wanted long past their sell-by date, as eventually became all too clear. No favours were done, even to the sector itself, by allowing it to linger on without preparing itself for

the effects of what had become a global market and the collapse, when it came, was that much the worse. Add shipbuilding, steel and many others.

Livingstone is surely representative of real Labour's grass-roots thinking — even after the fall of communism and the ignominious failure of socialist "planning" here. It seems that the lesson that centrally planned economies are museum economies has yet to be learned by Ken and I.

Nor is it true that high dividends mean low investment, as Livingstone argues in attempting to justify more tax on dividends. International studies confirm there is no straightforward connection between the two. Most businessmen and shareholders are only too happy to invest when they see good opportunities, but they evaluate the opportunities in the light of market forces, not because of sentimentality or political dogma.

Finally, poor Ken's out-moded thought patterns are revealed only too clearly in the assumption that profits and dividends are a matter of the bosses taking the money and nothing else, as he so glibly puts it.

Everyone has a stake in the successful production of profits and dividends. Pensions and savings depend on it. Every pensioner — and old person retiring into nursing home care — totally depends on the success and security of the pension funds.

MAKING £20 billion out of annual dividends would drive a coach and horses through the actuarial calculations of the pensions on which everyone will depend sooner or later — Ken included, I assume. Rhetoric about bosses and the City is symptomatic of financial illiteracy, hiding as it does the extent to which everyone depends on the success of the City; a success manifested in rates of profit and dividends.

Ed Mellor, Sir John Brown and Cook follow Livingstone's suggestions, the likely run on sterling and the withdrawal of international capital from the City will lead to a financial crisis in particular for pensioners. Any compulsory reinvestment, even if successful, would take at least five years to bear fruit.

Of course, we don't know whether Ken Livingstone is a good guide to what New Labour's economic policy will be. But if, as is not completely unlikely, it does involve higher taxes at least for the better-paid and compulsory reinvestment of profits into state-selected investments, the Conservatives will be presented with a great electoral opportunity. For the sake of the financial health of the country, we must hope the Tory party lifts itself from its current internal wrangling and firmly grasps the initiative.

Lord Hanson is the chairman of Hanson plc

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Rob Hall

# Final summit for a high achiever

ON THE morning of Friday, May 10, Rob Hall, the New Zealand mountaineer, guide and director of the firm Adventure Consultants, reached the summit of Everest with two other guides and with three clients who had paid a reported £50,000 each to join a commercial expedition with that objective. Hall sent a radio message from the summit to record the mountain's "conquest", and by the technical wizardry of the days of commonplaces in this context, it was relayed by fax from Everest base camp to the company's Christchurch headquarters. The group, in rapidly deteriorating weather, then turned to the descent.

Hall, for whom this was the fifth time he had trodden the summit, was the senior guide and as such took responsibility for the weakest member of the 44-year-old American Douglas Hansen. The two of them fell behind the other climbers and, in the face of dreadful conditions of wind and snow, were forced to dig a snow-hole for refuge between the Hillary Step and Everest's South Summit at a reported altitude of 8,700 metres. They

had little food with them, and were without sleeping bags or fuel to melt snow. Without liquid, physical decline at this height is rapid and inevitable. By Friday night, the American was dead.

For the next two days, Hall was in radio contact with base camp and with his wife Jan Arnold — who is seven months pregnant with her first child — in New Zealand. He reported that he was severely frostbitten and without the strength to cross the South Summit and descend to the South Col and beyond. It is assumed that he died some time on Sunday, May 12. He was 35.

Rob Hall was a phenomenon in the close-knit, hard-bitten world of New Zealand's mountaineers. Born in Christchurch, where he was educated at Xavier College, he sprang into prominence, as an 18-year-old, with a winter ascent of Mount Cook. In 1980 he became the youngest New Zealander to climb a major Himalayan peak (Ama Dablam — 8,812m), and capped both of these with a first winter ascent of the Caroline Face of Mount Cook in 1981. The time Hall took to do this — eight-and-a-half hours,

compared with 20 hours for the fastest summer ascent — caused an uproar among the country's climbers and established for him a reputation, in this conservative nation where mountaineering is almost a religion, as a young tearaway.

Thereafter, his career built impressively. In the next decade he accumulated ascents of seven of the world's 8,000-metre peaks: Everest, Lhotse, Makalu, K2, Annapurna, Cho Oyu and K2-pangma were swiftly and efficiently added to his collection and he seemed well on course to become the first New Zealander to climb all 14 of the 8,000-metre mountains.

He spent time as a survival instructor at the Scott Base in Antarctica, and made the first descent by paraglider from Mount Cook. His serendipity was not without its setbacks. In October 1993, his closest friend and co-director of Adventure Consultants, Gary Ball, died of pulmonary oedema as the two were climbing together on Dhaulagiri (8,167m).

With Ball and Peter Hillary — Sir Edmund's son — he had three years previously accomplished the so-called "seven



'Anyone who, regardless of mountain experience, had sufficient money and ambition could scarcely have found a safer or more prudent guide for Everest'

summits" — the highest points on each of the world's major land masses — in the remarkable time of seven months. This logistical nightmare was the sort of project to which Hall's character was admirably suited.

Those who worked with him record their awe and admiration of his capacity for an unflappable organisation. Nick Banks, a mountain guide both in Britain and New Zealand and a close friend of Hall's,

recalls him thus: "As a mountaineer, he was very fit, effective and technically competent. As a businessman, he was superb and made a success of everything, from his guide's assessment and early design and manufacture of rucksacks through to Adventure Consultants, which set the standards by which every other commercial expedition outfit was judged."

"He was a marvellous boss to work for, and won lots of

clients from other companies by their seeing the way he operated and opting to go with him next time. He was completely cool, genial and unphased — the sort of guy who, if all the expedition baggage had fallen in the river, would just have shrugged his shoulders and sent for some more. It doesn't at all surprise me that his death came about through looking after a client — that was the way he was."

This great beauty of a man, with the intense eyes, the frontier eyebrows and bushy beard — this affable, sociable, hedonist when away from the austerity of his mountains — grew into something of a folk-hero in his native country. He was idolised by the establishment and the local media, and used the latter to great advantage. His easy eloquence and radical, firmly-held opinions stood him in good stead in his dealings here, and made him a household word.

Not every sector of New Zealand society held him in such high regard. His rebuttal of the claims of Lydia Brady — reasonable claims on the evidence, which others, the great Australian mountaineer, Greg Child among them, have

strongly supported — incurred the wrath of New Zealand's feminists and drew accusations of sexual chauvinism against him from that quarter. Balancing that charge are the activities he undertook in company with his wife, Jan Arnold, a doctor whom he met while she was studying high altitude medicine at Pheruche in Nepal. With her, he climbed Everest, Cho Oyu (twice), Mount Vinson in Antarctica, Denali in Alaska and Carstens Pyramid in Papua New Guinea.

His business project, guiding clients to the summits of the highest peak, he pursued with meticulous attention to detail and a ready defence that these summits should be open to all who wished to climb them (and who could, of course, also muster the necessary cash). The notion that this enterprise is perhaps unwise crops up recurrently as a sub-text to all the justifications from the commercially-involved which have been heard in recent days.

Anyone who, regardless of mountain experience, had sufficient money and ambition could scarcely have found a safer or more prudent guide for Everest. Nonetheless,

ambition, money and success, are often the aptest breeding grounds for that hubris which time and again proves deadly among mountaineers, where no amount of technology, organisation or experience can guarantee survival.

The bodies of Rob Hall and Douglas Hansen are frozen now into a tiny pocket in the snow. In due course, the white skin of the mountain will shiver and slough them off. And Everest will care not one jot: not for Rob's Mountaineering of the Year award of 1987, nor his Himalayan Rescue Association Award of 1989, nor for his New Zealand Medal of 1990, nor for his unborn child, nor for the feelings of his wife, to whom — as Sherpa rescuers battled bravely and unavailingly up from the South Col to within 300 metres of his cold grave in weather of terrifying ferocity on Saturday — technology at least gave the dearly-held consolation of a goodbye.

**Jim Parry**  
Robert Edwin Hall, mountaineer, businessman, born January 14, 1961; died May 12, 1996

## Letter

WR Jackson writes: Paul Sood (obituary May 16) was not just a political powerhouse behind Leicester's Asian business sector, he was also one of those unsung heroes who make a noticeable difference to those with whom he came into contact. No problem was too small; even if he could not provide a remedy one always felt that Clr Sood had done his utmost.

I recall seeing him only a few weeks before his untimely death, when, over a pint, we discussed India's claim of sovereignty over Kashmir. We had never agreed on this issue but it mattered not for Paul, a democrat who would never hold a grudge simply because of a difference of opinion. Indeed, he loved the cut and thrust of verbal polemics, whether in the council chamber or over a vegetarian meal in a local restaurant after a 12-hour day, during which he may have seen a dozen people seeking his help on anything from rent arrears to troublesome teenagers.

Paul often quoted Mahatma Gandhi to me. He did not believe in an eye for an eye; that way, he said, we would all end up blind. Right to the end he never lost sight of man's need to love, not judge, his neighbour.

## Birthdays

Tim Albery, opera and theatre director, 44; Sir David Berriman, chairman, Association of Lloyds Members, 68; Lynda Birke, biologist, 48; Prof Ian Cameron, provost, University of Wales College of Medicine, 60; Sir Harry Campion, statistician, founding director, Central Statistical Office, 91; The Rev Prof Sir Owen Chadwick OM, ecclesiastical historian, 80; Cher, singer and actress, 38; Peter Copley, actor, 81; Greg Dyke, ITV mogul, chairman and chief executive, Pearson Television, 48; Mary Flanagan, novelist and critic, 53; Keith Fletcher, cricketer, 52; Nigel Griffiths, Labour MP, 41; John Heggarty, advertising director, 32; Lord (Clive) Hollick, chief executive, M&L, 51; Deryck Murray, manager, West Indies cricket team, 53; Michèle Roberts, novelist and poet, 47; Peter Shore MP, former Labour minister, 82; Earl Spencer, 32; James Stewart, actor, 88; Sir Iain Vallance, chairman, British Telecom, 58.

## Johnny Watson

### Firing from the hip

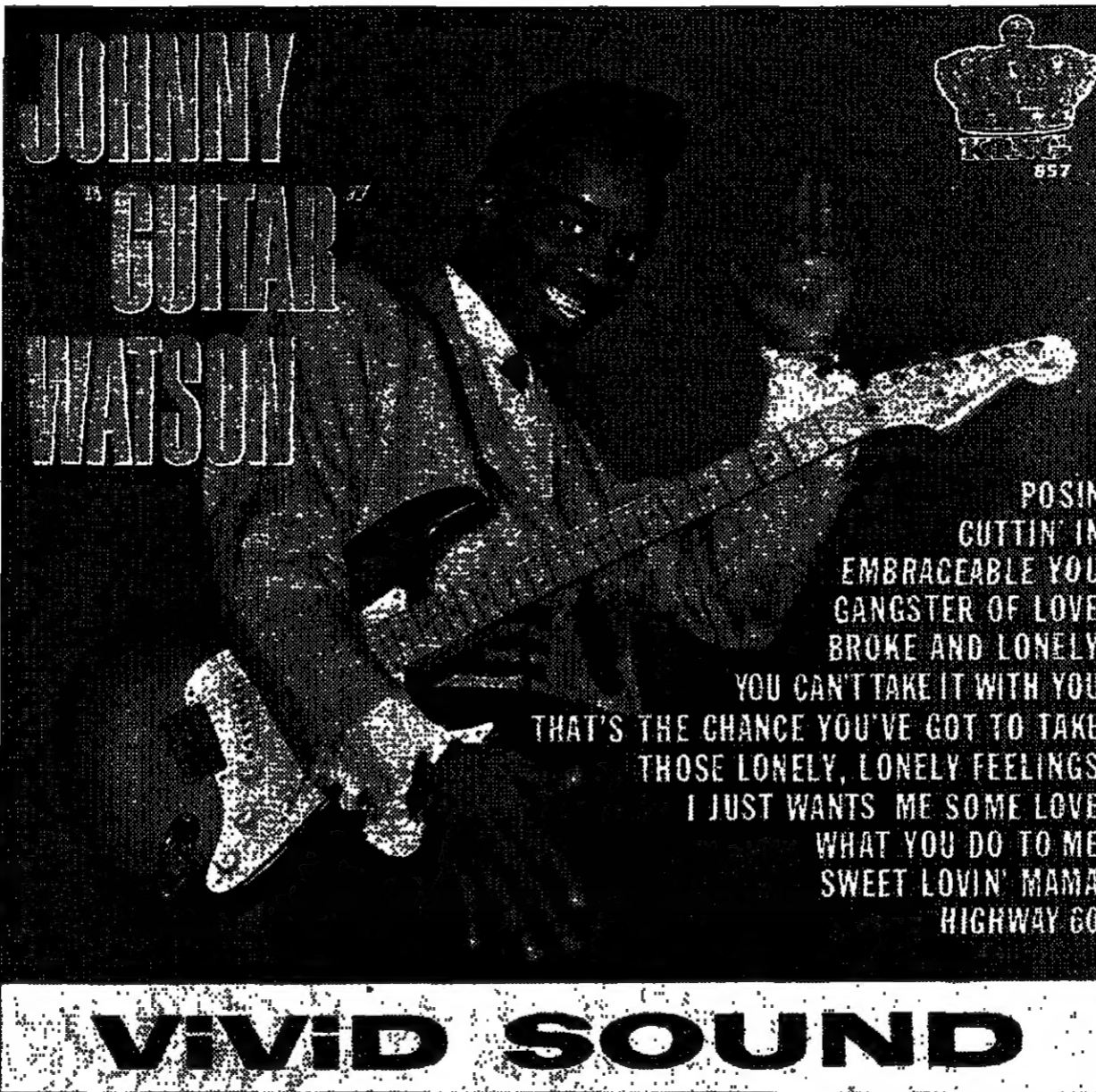
JOHNNY "Guitar" Watson was not too full of life to dwell on thoughts of mortality, but had he orchestrated his own exit this was the one he would have chosen: on the up again, touring the world after a recent hit album and re-issues of his substantial back catalogue, wig hat on and a vegetarian grin flashing in the spotlight, his trusty axe fixed to his hip, a natural-born "dude" if ever there was one. Still playing the bad-ass young charmer at 61, and getting away with it because he was not acting, Watson died of a heart attack after collapsing on stage in Japan.

Watson was the slickest survivor from the bygone years of rhythm 'n' blues and yet, apart from a big hit run in the second half of the 1970s, he never properly realised his full potential. He was universally liked and more highly rated among other musicians than he ever was with the public. Watson is said to have influenced all manner of men, from Jimi Hendrix to Frank Zappa, with whom he recorded in the 1970s and 1980s; perhaps more in approach than delivery.

A decade before Hendrix and Zappa cut their claims to fame, Watson was striking out on the West Coast with a snake-like extension lead, a crazy guitar, and boisterous attitude. But he was always one for the clean, simple cut-and-thrust of an early electric guitar.

Born in Houston, Texas, he was taught piano by his father before becoming enthralled by the freshly strident electric guitarists of that era — at root, T-Bone Walker, but in particular Texas's own Clarence "Gatemouth" Brown. In 1959, when his parents expected him to go to Los Angeles and begin sitting in with the local jazz bands, first recording as a piano-playing blues singer with Chuck Higgins's Melotones, then in his own right as Johnny Watson. During the same period he formed his own little group for flashy on-stage displays of guitar pyrotechnics that have been likened to an early sketch of Jimi Hendrix, without the feedback.

In February 1964, he first recorded a sound-bite of his crazy axe, *Space Guitar*. In retrospect, he would seem tailor-made to become a formidable first-generation rock 'n' roll star; but although his record company was sharp enough to dub him Johnny "Guitar" Watson and encourage that side of his talent, there was no great attempt to market him for the adolescent audience. He had a hit with his company, *Those Lonely Lonely Nights*, but remained fundamentally a local R&B phenomenon, label-hopping throughout the rest of the 1960s and early 1970s. He did, however,



Natural-born dude... Johnny 'Guitar' Watson posin' on the cover of his 1962 album, Vivid Sound

record his original versions of *Gangster of Love* (1958) and *Looking Back* (1961). A 1961-63 tenure with King Records gave him a second R&B top 10 hit, *Cuttin' In*.

After that he teamed up with his buddy, Larry Williams, and in 1965 they toured England together. On their return to the States, Watson and Williams secured a fruitful recording/production deal with Okeh Records that saw them through to the late 1960s, with hits like *Too For The Price Of One*, an up-tempo soul record now regarded as a Northern Soul classic.

The early 1970s were less kind to both men, but Watson was determined to come up with something appropriate

for the times. Between the extremes of pop disco and freaky funk, Watson took the middle ground. But throughout it all, his clean-cut guitar work reminded us where he was coming from.

Then he signed to DJM records, a British-based label for whom he recorded hits such as *I Need It, Ain't That A Blotch*, *A Real Mother For You* and other seductive salutations which caught the mood of the era both for the dance floor and the bedroom.

By the 1980s, Watson was suffering a crisis of confidence because his brand of soul was out of fashion, and in 1989 his old partner Larry Williams was shot under suspicious circumstances. Watson recorded

a couple of striking albums and then laid low in his Los Angeles home, occasionally venturing out for tours of small clubs. Then in the 1990s he was resurrected with his guitar riffs being sampled by rappers Snoopy Doggy Dogg and Ice Cube. He cut an album, *How Wow*, last year and was getting bookings worldwide.

Johnny "Guitar" Watson leaves a fruitful legacy of R&B recordings of all shades from four decades. He would be best pleased if you listened and said: "I hear that!"

**Gliff White**  
Johnny "Guitar" Watson, musician, born February 3, 1935; died May 19, 1996

## Pierre Debizet

### Loyalty beyond the call of duty

LOYALTY was always one of the characteristics of Gaullism. Whenever it seemed necessary, telephone calls would be made, and Gaullists gathered ready to parade, to hold meetings, to organise propaganda. The majority were eminently respectable, but there were others. And it was sometimes said "there are some funny people among the Gaullists". Perhaps there were.

It started in 1947 in the seventh arrondissement of Paris, when De Gaulle called a meeting in the Japy gymnasium. This was one of the first meetings of De Gaulle's newly-formed Rally Of The French people. The Communist Party, accusing De Gaulle of wishing to seize power and to establish a fascist state, wrecked the meeting by invading the place and displaying remarkable violence. So a security force was recruited. It was made up of former boxers, soldiers and bodyguards. They are, said De Gaulle, "capable of amazing stupidities. But you can count on them for 24 hours out of 24."

It was this security force that Pierre Debizet, who has died aged 73, joined, becoming the third in the order of seniority. It was as a hero of the resistance movement, under the name "Debauge", that he was recruited. He had served in the group Libération Nord, which was based in the ninth arrondissement and which was pre-eminently socialist. But he worked for the information service of Free France — in that way becoming a Gaullist — and received his decorations.

He liked to be known as "le Colonel" or as "gros sourcil" ("heavy eyebrows") or by his resistance name. In this service he made contact with Jacques Foccart, who became the secretary-general of the Gaullist party and who was already active in the French counter-espionage service. While Debizet's strong-arm role declined as De Gaulle ceased to work with his political party in the 1950s, it reappeared after the Suez crisis. Then there was considerable activity urging the return of De Gaulle, and with the revolt

in Algiers in May 1958 there was an atmosphere of conspiracy which caused Foccart to create the Service d'Action, the SAC, with Debizet as its head. He galvanised the Gaullists, although when De Gaulle was elected Debizet was in hospital.

The situation became complicated as De Gaulle's Algerian policy evolved. Debizet was in favour of Algeria remaining French and he disapproved of Algerian independence. It was said that once Algeria was independent he would have a black tie for the rest of his life. But he also disapproved of the Secret Army (the OAS) which sought to kill De Gaulle. The war between the SAC and the OAS became both bitter and scandalous. Debizet left Paris, where he was accused of gangsterism, and went, under Foccart's aegis, to Africa, where he carried out work for De Gaulle. Much of this pursuit of French interests was highly secret.

In 1969, President Pompidou called on Debizet to clean up the SAC. It had drifted into the role of a parallel police force, spying on the private lives of politicians and civil servants. Under Giscard, Foccart's role became less important, so Debizet became less active in France, but still active in Gabon.

In 1981 what De Gaulle had prophesied came to pass. Due to misunderstanding and confusion, three members of SAC killed a colleague and his family at Auril, in southern France. Debizet was suspected of complicity and arrested. He was cleared of the charge and released, but the SAC was dissolved in 1982.

In 1986 he reappeared, representing a movement which sought to resuscitate the values of true Gaullism, and which called on people to demonstrate and to protest against the decline and decadence of French society. The movement was a complete failure.

**Douglas Johnson**  
Pierre Debizet, resistance fighter, special agent and politician, born 1923; died May 18, 1996

## Jackdaw

memorial of trash aligned to spell "Adam". It's a group similar in makeup to the dozens that attended Rich's memorial/rally/barbecue on Venice Beach the Saturday after his death.

There, a tape recorded by Allison Hughes, Rich's girlfriend of the last three weeks of his life, was played to the assembled mourners. She urged fans to be strong and quoted one of the ten moving tips Rich gave this magazine's readers in 1995. "Just turn up the Superchunk, throw your stuff in a box and move it!"

To show up in person would have been the most difficult of moments for Allison. "I just couldn't face standing up in front of all those people, you know. It's not like I have a lot of black ink on my wardrobe, so I'm not entirely confident about how I look."

One whom the actor touched so deeply with his life and art was his chauffeur, Ron Russell. Ron points to a single episode that may have signalled what was to come.

"We were going to get some more vitamin C from the 24-hour GNC one night after

working late," Ron relates. "A guy came over to Adam and asked for the time. Adam just lost it. He snapped at him. 'Do I look like a fucking clock? Do I Am I fucking Ben to you?' I was like, 'whoa, Adam, settle down. I had to hold this guy back from taking a swing at him. I remember Adam just glared, and glared, and glared — and glared. Then he glared for a few more minutes. Of course, by now the guy was long gone, but it was really weird..."

When one who has shone so brightly to so many is snuffed out with terrifying finality, the pain comes in waves that seem to lap at the toes of individuals, even as it crashes onto the beach head of society. No, there will never be another quite like Adam Rich. It is said to fly too close to the sun is to have your body turned into stone. In the weeks and months to follow, an industry and a generation will have to mine a new quarry.

Excerpts from the tribute *Might* magazine paid to Adam Rich, the cigar smoking, vita-

min Channing, short-tempered painter, actor and child prodigy, who was tragically shot by a dinner theatre stagehand. Adam had lost his temper with the guy, who in turn lost his.

**Brain problem**  
ALREADY nurses and gynaecologists witness the disturbing scenario of an aborted fetus in one ward delivered (during the course of late but legal abortions) inadvertently and inconveniently alive, which must be left somewhere (presumably out of sight) to die, while on another ward a fetus of the same age, delivered spontaneously (but prematurely) is accorded full human rights, and with them the intensive support which may allow its survival. And although it is difficult to call a fertilised egg a person, deserving of rights, we do not know when else in a foetal life we might make this definition — we have no idea, and the only safe and defensible time to "put the cursor" must be at fertilisation. The *Tablet* outlines the increasingly complicated issue of

contrary to the decision of the General Synod in 1987, which the House of Bishops statement, issues in Human Sexuality, also recognises; they are forbidden in holy scripture, are contrary to the gospel and the explicit teaching of St Paul in Romans, chapter 1. However, the LCGM's stated conviction is that "it is entirely compatible with the Christian faith not only to love another person of the same sex but also to express that love fully in a personal sexual relationship" (from LCGM's Statement of Conviction).

2. We believe that this service will cause further division in the church, as it will grieve many ordinary Christians; and we fear for the position of the cathedral as the place where the diocese can unite.

3. We also fear for the reputation of the Church of England in the eyes of the world, in view of the LCGM's history. We recognise the history of the Church's hypocrisy in this area. We see the need to welcome Christians with homosexual feelings, and to break down the barriers which prevent homosexual men and women from hearing the Gospel. However, we do not think that the permission to hold this service achieves either of these ends. Indeed, it is dangerously counter-productive in celebrating practice that the Bible and the Church call sin.

Rev Hugh Balfour and others expressing their concern in the Church Times that gays and lesbians might contaminate ordinary Christianity.

**So rich...**  
"TM NOT dead!" insists former child star Adam Rich. The *Eight Is Enough* veteran, who played cute little Nicholas, became the victim of a death hoax by a small San Franciscoan publication called *Might*.

Adam told the *Enquirer*, "It started as a joke but it got out of control... Now a lot of people think I really AM dead! I'm upset."

The May/June issue of *Might* featured a photo of Adam on the cover with the words "Adam Rich, 1968-1996. Fare thee well, Gentle Friend... His Last Days... The Legacy He Leaves". The *National Enquirer*, to the relief of fans, reveals that *Rich* is still alive.

*Jackdaw* wants your jewels. E-mail [jackdaw@guardian.co.uk](mailto:jackdaw@guardian.co.uk); fax 0171-713 4899; *Jackdaw*, The Guardian, 111 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

**Emily Sheffield**

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.



# High taxes or low, bills still have to be paid

**Debate**  
**Andrew Dilnot**

**K**ENNETH Clarke takes an average of nearly £300 a week from every household in this country. And then he gives it back again. But while the taxes we all pay must broadly be equal to government spending in aggregate, for individual households there can be huge differences between taxes paid and benefits received from government spending. The main aim of most government spending is precisely to take money from some people and spend it on others. But politicians seem to be a bit shy about using redistribution as a rallying cry. The Government spends about 40 per cent of the national income, and there are two main arguments in favour of it doing so. First, that governments can help markets work, and second, that even well functioning markets can produce unacceptable outcomes — such as inadequate healthcare or education.

# Back to the future, sixties style



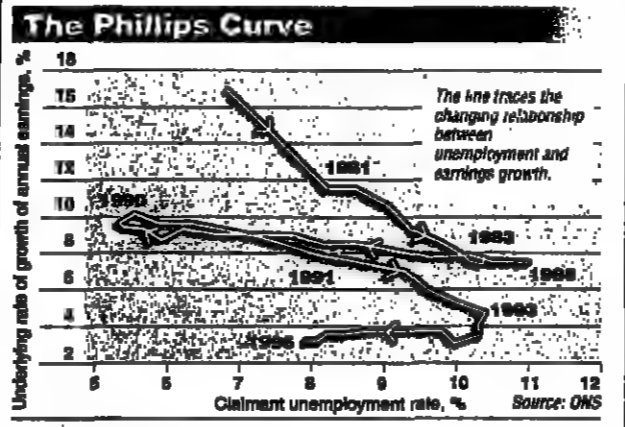
**E**ARLIER this year, at the World Economic Forum in Davos, two American neurologists discussed the huge steps forward in the study of the brain and cures for Alzheimer's disease over the past decade. The idea that progress could not be made was unthinkable. There was a problem: it would be solved. Compared with what has been happening in medicine, economics has been stuck in a time warp. The same ideas used here by the monetarist revolution in the late 1960s and early 1970s still hold sway. Orthodox rules. According to the authorities, orthodox works. The Bank of England believes low-inflation Britain is on the brink of something new and exciting. Treasury officials purr with delight when they describe the wonders of the post-ERM monetary framework.

After a tighter monetary policy. The fear is that Britain's traditional problems — the balance of payments and under-investment — will combine to stoke up inflationary pressure, whatever happens in the labour market. Investment is the real worry for the Government. Everything is in place for a boom, but companies stubbornly refuse to invest. Corporation tax is low, the people who run the corporate sector have been pampered by 17 years of Conservative government: profits are good, corporate liquidity is strong. But we have been waiting an awfully long time for the private sector to respond and meanwhile there are still more than two million people unemployed (even on the Government's definition), the British Medical Association warns that the NHS is facing "financial meltdown" and a third of inner-city children start secondary school two years behind in reading age. One solution would be to show a little understanding. We could make life easier for the corporate sector by offering firms even more tax breaks to invest, or squeeze labour a little harder to drive up the profit share. But perhaps, as the Prime Minister once said, it is time to understand a little less, condemn a

little more. If, as the recent evidence suggests, the corporate sector isn't up to the job, what is to stop the Government increasing corporate taxation and the top rate of personal tax, then using the proceeds to create public sector jobs? We'll take a short break at this point while everybody takes a whiff of smelling salts. The notion that public sector investment should compensate for the deficiencies of the private sector is the meat and drink of Keynesianism, and small pockets of resistance to the orthodoxy have kept the sacred flame alive these past two decades. Most of this guerrilla movement was present last week in Cambridge, where the discussion was not about whether more public investment was necessary but how it should be financed. A paper by Michael Kitson, Jonathan Michie and Holly Sutherland, using a special tax-simulation model, argued that at low net cost the state could create a million new jobs. Of these, 750,000 would be directly created — 150,000 jobs each in housing, education and health, 100,000 each in Care in the Community, environmental projects and energy conservation — and 250,000 by the knock-on multiplier effect. The gross cost would be

around £22,500 per job, a total of some £16.65 billion. The net cost would be much lower, because the tax take would be higher and benefit pay-outs lower. Messrs Kitson, Michie and Sutherland estimate the net cost at under £6 billion, and perhaps even less because they assume that all the jobs created are reasonably paid and full-time. of these factors. The first thing to say is that £6 billion is small beer when public spending is running at £300 billion a year. Nor would the sky fall in on the bond market if the state embarked upon such a project, particularly if the money came from higher taxation rather than an expansion of borrowing. A more significant concern

Robinson of the London School of Economics, was illuminating. Mr Robinson, using the graph shown, argued that there is an asymmetry in the Phillips curve — that in the recessions of the early 1980s and early 1990s it required a large increase in unemployment to reduce the level of earnings growth, but in the recovery phases big falls in unemployment were associated with modest or negligible rises in wage inflation. Mr Robinson argues that Chancellor Nigel Lawson in the late 1980s over-egged the pudding he went too far, too fast. With a steeper but still expansionary policy, unemployment could be brought down without a resurgence in wage inflation. The balance of payments would probably turn out to be a bigger worry. Keynesians normally shrug this off by saying that the import content of any public investment programme would be small, but this may be a Panglossian view given the strivings of Britain's industrial base. Monetary policy would almost certainly have to be kept loose so that a competitive pound could boost exports, but the corollary would have to be a tighter fiscal stance. Two other objections are worth mentioning. First, that higher corporation tax and higher income tax on the wealthy would affect entrepreneurship and those trying to get on in life. But, if there was a golden age of Thatcherism, it was before 1988, when taxes on capital and the rich were higher than they are now. Second, the voters would turn their back on what is essentially a Keynesian programme. Well, to some extent Keynesianism is already making a comeback. How else can we view the fine-tuning of monetary policy? In any case, voters might quite like a policy that would offer lower unemployment, improvements to the health service, smaller class sizes and shrinking housing waiting lists. To those who say it sounds too much like the sixties, the retort is that we've got the music and we've got the clothes, why don't we have the growth rates, the unemployment levels and the egalitarianism as well?



# Sorry, this is where we came in

**Worm's eye**  
**Dan Atkinson**  
**S**ATURDAY afternoon, and the car radio transmits a ring-in discussion. At first, the listener assumes this to be Any Answers on Radio 4, but is soon put right by the concentration-camp physician and the presenter, who, it seems, wants those people on the left to say sorry for what they did to our schools. You're tuned to David Starkey on Talk Radio UK. He may have a point. Some of us await grovelling

regrets from the English master who assured us Tanzania was The Future and the geography teacher who raved about Red China. But this apology business could get out of hand, working to Dr Starkey's 20-year theme: the time may have come to apologise to all trade unionists who took a mangling on television (and in print) during the early years of the Fright Decade. Remember the set-up: TU boss sits in black swivel chair opposite TV interrogator. Former thinks he will discuss "legitimate demands of the workforce" and the fact that his members are "very, very angry". The latter has different

questions, concerning army-berry on the picket line, intimidation at mass meetings and the human-rights implications of the closed shop. TU boss would prefer to leave all this alone, but, forced to reply, says that without the aforementioned push and shove, plus the all-ticket shop, the management would return in a trice to the days of "thinning out" (or "downsizing", as we would say today), of casual day labour and favouritism. Pause while the interrogator cleared his throat, making it clear that neither he nor the viewers believed a word of it. Should he look dejected, the charitable assumption was our union

man was "living in the 1930s" and had failed to move with the times. If he was sharper and younger, he was simply a liar, and his boys were cutting up rough not because of some terror of the boss-class but to shove up the TU man's quasi-protection racket. Nobody could seriously imagine that modern businessmen — in those days portrayed, as in *The Brothers*, as harassed claps in crumpled suits — intended anything other than benign, progressive industrial leadership. The "right to manage" was the new imperative. Yes, well... time, perhaps, to say sorry.

for this they are big net contributors. To be in the top decile required a joint net income for a two adult childless household of only £25,000 in 1994-95. The idea that in some narrow self-interested model this scale of redistribution could be a good deal for the well off is absurd, and yet most debate at the political level side-steps this reality. This lack of comprehension would not matter if the status quo were satisfactory, and there were no pressures for change. But there is no doubt that the share of national income spent on healthcare, education, pensions, unemployment and general low income will continue to rise. As we grow richer, we expect to spend a larger proportion of our income on retirement, caring for our health, and educating our children and ourselves. All this means that, as for all time past, in the future the share of national income allocated to welfare state type activities will go on growing. The big question is what the state will do.

**T**HERE are two paths that are economically feasible and morally defensible. One is a large and continuing increase in taxation, to return towards more a universal public welfare state. The French, the Germans, the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes pay more than 35 per cent more tax than we do, so such a route is certainly possible. The other is explicit recognition that the tax we pay now is insufficient for a broadly "continental" model, and we should therefore target public spending more directly on those most in need, and either leave the better off to make their own decisions or compel them into private provision. Neither of these routes seems to appeal to politicians, who generally seem stuck in a world where increasing tax or reducing the benefit of public spending for any group is painful, where being open about redistribution hurts. But we can only make sense of what we do now in terms of taking money from some and giving it to others. The basis of public sector activity is a sense of ethical claims. There are alternatives for all political persuasions, but each of them can most of us paying more, either in tax or for our own provision. That may be an uncomfortable reality, but it will not go away. Andrew Dilnot is director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies

# Indicators

- TOMORROW** — UK: M0 (Apr), UK: M4 (Apr, prov), UK: M4 lending, UK: FOMC meeting.
- WEDNESDAY** — US: Export price index (Apr), US: Import price index (Apr), UK: Consumer price index (May), UK: GDP (Q1), UK: Retail sales (Apr).
- FRIDAY** — UK: Jobless claims, FR: Banque de France Council Meeting, FR: M4 lending, UK: FOMC meeting.
- WEDNESDAY** — US: Export price index (Apr), US: Import price index (Apr), UK: Consumer price index (May), UK: GDP (Q1), UK: Retail sales (Apr).

# Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.8275	France 7.59	Italy 2.311	Singapore 2.08
Austria 15.80	Germany 2.2475	Malta 0.5380	South Africa 6.40
Belgium 46.10	Greece 359.00	Netherlands 2.6150	Spain 187.50
Canada 2.0225	Hong Kong 11.42	New Zealand 2.1450	Sweden 10.05
Cyprus 0.6950	India 32.45	Norway 9.70	Switzerland 1.6380
Denmark 8.72	Ireland 0.9425	Portugal 232.50	Turkey 111,704
Finland 7.06	Israel 4.90	Saudi Arabia 5.88	USA 1.4800

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Racing

Carson's double trouble

Chris Hawkins

IT MAY be overstating it to say that Willie Carson's career has hit crisis point following his seven-day suspension on Saturday evening for failing to ride out Kamari, who was caught and beaten in the last stride by Major Dundee at Lingfield...

True, he rode a double at Newbury on Saturday, but it would undoubtedly have been a treble if he had managed to get a clear run on Nabhan...

Nothing is more infuriating for backers than to be deprived of a race by a jockey's over-confidence or negligence and Carson has not been far from that in his career...

thing coming through. It's one of the worst things to happen in my career and I doubt whether even O.J. Simpson's lawyers could help me on this one...

In all probability, however, he will head the message at the end of this season, which has so far been a big let-down, principally through the failure of Alhaarth to confirm his two-year-old promise...

Carson was criticised for not letting Alhaarth stride on the Newbury executive, with a slow-run Crown Stakes when the colt was beaten by Beauchamp King...



Cool start... Newbury numbers are well wrapped up against yesterday's weather as Amrak Ajeeb wins the opener

There were 17 non-runners during the afternoon due to the changed going after persistent rain and the afternoon was a big disappointment for the Newbury executive...

Fabre, won the Prix Saint-Ladre to get an 8-1 quote with Ladbrokes for the Epsom Oaks. Prickett led 11-8 favourite with Lady Carla 6-1...

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Musselburgh evening card

Table of racing results for Musselburgh evening card, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Southwell National Hunt card

Table of racing results for Southwell National Hunt card, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Windsor tonight

Table of racing results for Windsor tonight, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Bath with form

Table of racing results for Bath with form, including race numbers, names, and winners.

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Advertisement for THE VODAFONE DERBY SATURDAY 26 JUNE 2.25pm, featuring Queen's Stand, Club Enclosure, and various betting options.

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Large vertical advertisement on the right side of the page, including 'Darin blend', 'Kent p... dampe on Iran show', and 'Crick'.

Cricket

Daring England wield axe to blend new blood with old faces

Mike Selvey finds much cheer in the 13 chosen for the Texaco series against India

WHAT would at first sight appear to be a typical place of compromise, the England selectors have retained for the Texaco series against India precisely half of the 16 players employed in the disastrous World Cup campaign.

Iran of Essex - are given a chance to establish themselves, and there are returns for the Glamorgan captain Matthew Maynard, who played all his five one-day internationals on the last Caribbean tour, and for the great enigma Chris Lewis after a vibrant start to the season with his latest club, Surrey.

Smith and Darren Gough represent the camels of old, the rest are as crash-hot a bunch of gazelles as could reasonably be assembled.

closed. Maynard is a naturally attacking batsman who was unable to translate his county game into Test cricket; the Welshman had seemed confused as to his role or how to approach a Test innings, and an international career appeared to have passed him by.

The Squad

- M A Atherton (Lancashire, capt)
A D Brown (Surrey)
G A Hick (Worcestershire)
G P Thorpe (Surrey)
M P Maynard (Glamorgan)
A J Stewart (Surrey, wkt)
C C Lewis (Surrey)
C R Irani (Essex)
D G Cork (Derbyshire)
M K Smith (Warwickshire)
P J Martin (Lancashire)
D Gough (Yorkshire)
M A Ealham (Kent)



Fresh faces... first England calls yesterday for Ealham (left), Brown (centre) and Irani

cricket is Ealham's forte and he has steadily gained respect over the past couple of seasons as a hard-hitting, intelligent lower-middle-order batsman and, niggly, well-controlled seam bowler.

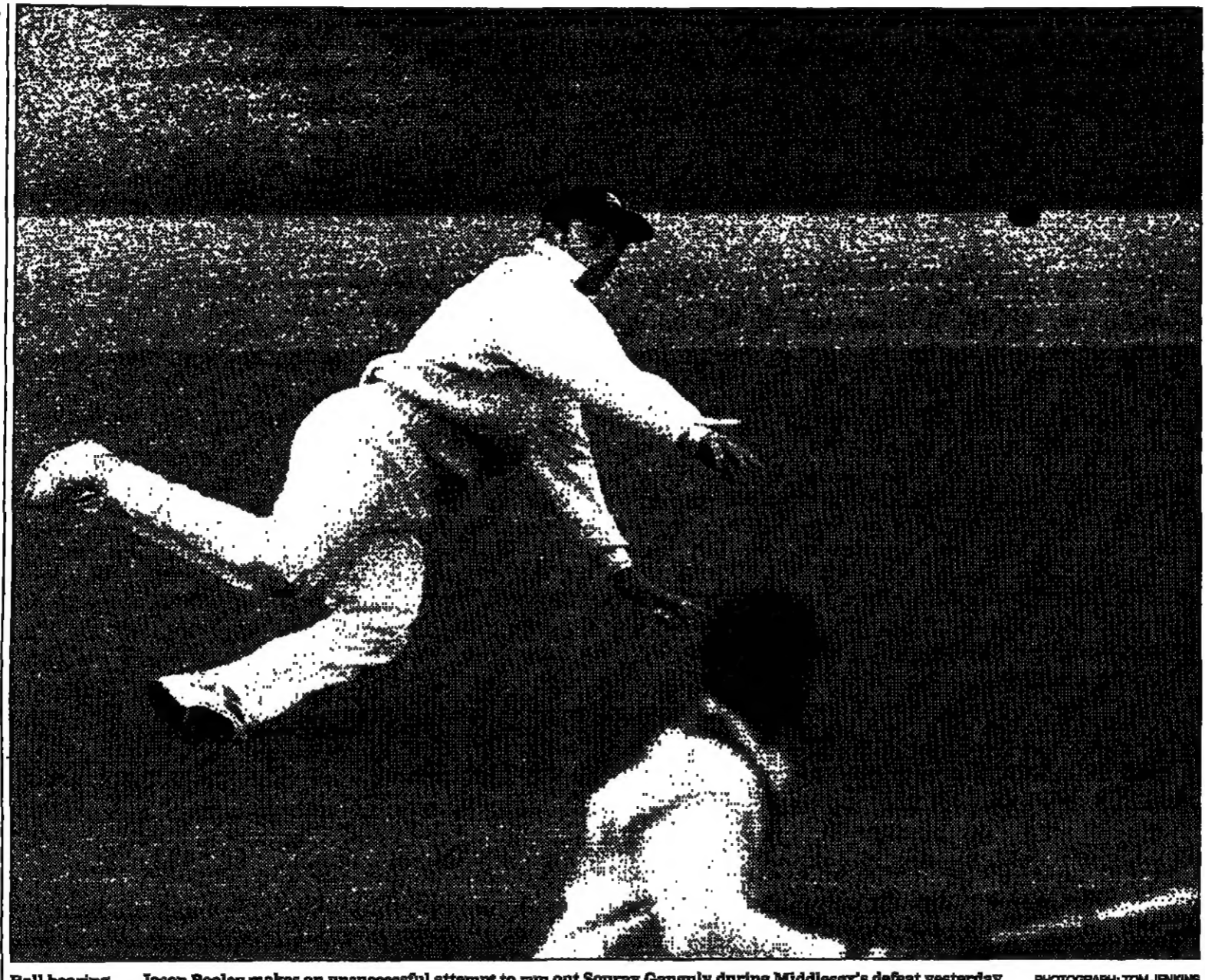
Whether he plays, however, will depend on the role envisaged for Hick. This is the England batsman most capable of taking the aerial route with the field up, and like Tendulkar for India and Mark Waugh for Australia he could be best employed at the start of the innings.

But Stewart might be on a last chance here: Russell Warren of Northamptonshire, with a double century under his belt already this season, is pushing hard.

Kent put damper on Irani show

RONNIE IRANI celebrated his inclusion in England's squad for the one-day internationals against India by scoring 80 against Kent at Ilford in the Sunday league.

Kent had amassed 272 for six thanks largely to Matthew Fleming's 112 and Carl Hooper's 73. Essex ran the visitors close but finished on 287 for nine.



Ball bearing... Jason Pooley makes an unsuccessful attempt to run out Sourav Ganguly during Middlesex's defeat yesterday

Four match: Middlesex v Indians

Getting inked out by Indian

WITH the Texaco one-day internationals imminent, the Indians came here yesterday not so much for a warm-up as a blow-out.

Middlesex for a time looked capable of overhauling the Indians' 50-over score of 232 for eight. Paul Weekes and Mark Ramprakash, careful at the start but more expansive later, compiled an opening stand of 98.

Middlesex needed 26 from the last over, and the batsmen came here yesterday not so much for a warm-up as a blow-out.

The Indians chose to field virtually their strongest side, with only this and another one-day match tomorrow against Northamptonshire before Thursday's opening international at The Oval.

Nottinghamshire had paid the price for a slow start before Paul Johnson (47) and Chris Cairns (53) trilled the tempo.

Scoreboard table for Middlesex v Indians match, showing runs, wickets, and overs for both teams.

Scoreboard table for Durham v Yorkshire match, showing runs, wickets, and overs for both teams.

Scoreboard table for Warwickshire v Lancashire match, showing runs, wickets, and overs for both teams.

Scoreboard table for Essex match, showing runs, wickets, and overs for both teams.

Scoreboard table for Kent match, showing runs, wickets, and overs for both teams.

Scoreboard table for Middlesex v Indians match, showing runs, wickets, and overs for both teams.

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Cricket News and Scores 0891 22 88+ Counties update 0691 22 88 30

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Rugby Union

Peace International: Ireland 38, Barbarians 70

Goodwill scores heavily

IRELAND suffered their heaviest defeat in terms of points conceded, yet the embarrassing scoreline was perhaps the least significant feature of this match.

union went out of their way to help us' and that none of the invited players from across the world would be taking a penny in expenses.

Robert Armstrong at Lansdowne Road

England given ultimatum over television deal

RELAND suffered their heaviest defeat in terms of points conceded, yet the embarrassing scoreline was perhaps the least significant feature of this match.

Robert Armstrong at Lansdowne Road

England given ultimatum over television deal

England given ultimatum over television deal

Golf

Trinidadian Ames keeps cool to tame icy Thame

David Davies sees an unlikely hero eclipse the stars at The Oxfordshire

COLLECTIVE collapse of the great and the good in golf allowed Stephen Ames, 60th on the Volvo Order of Merit, to win the Benson and Hedges International at The Oxfordshire yesterday. Colin Montgomerie took 84, Ian Woosnam took 82, Nick Faldo took 80. Ames, the best player to emerge from Trinidad and Tobago, took 72, the best of the day, being a 12ft putt on the 18th to beat Essex's Ian Robson by a shot. Ames finished five under par on 283. Derrick Cooper was third on 286 and the only other players under par after a week of abysmal weather were Ross Drummond and Andrew Coltart, both on 278. Ames won £118,890, which was a great deal more than he had won previously in a full season and took him to second in the Order of Merit. This is his second tournament win, but as the other was the Lyons Open, with less than a full field, his is by far his greatest achievement. Robson took away £77,770, also more than he won in any previous season. There was some snarling resentment, not to mention anger, as the overnight leaders trailed off the course badly beaten. Woosnam hurried away with nary a glance at a gathered press corps and Montgomerie, who had been penalised two shots for angrily kicking the sand in a bunker, was barely capable of speech. Consoled by someone that Nick Faldo had admitted losing heart, he snapped: "Who is Nick Faldo? I'm not interested in what he thinks." Faldo conceded that he had indeed lost heart at the 8th, where he hit a par putt four inches left of the hole and saw it blown seven feet to the right. "It was hit and hope out there," he said. "We were not in control and it was bloody tough. It was not golfing weather. It may have been playable but it was very severe. I hit two drives around 360 yards, but against that on the 18th I hit a great three-iron and it went 170 yards." In such conditions Ames's birdies did not make him an obvious contender for victory, but he has a slow swing and very good balance and he maintained his rhythm. He was two under par for 18 holes, easily the best of the day, when he pushed a one-iron into the lake at the 17th. Satisfied it was the right club and the correct tactic, he cleared the water at the next attempt and although he took a double-bogey seven he came to the 18th needing a par to beat Robson. His second, from 208 yards, was a two-iron which finished 20ft from the hole. His first putt left him with a 12-footer for the win, and the uppercut that followed the ball into the hole was understandable. "Muster bogeyed the 2nd," he said later, "and that broke me up. I realised they were not going to stop it so I'd better get on with playing."



Punchline... Stephen Ames, who was 60th in the Order of Merit, celebrates his unexpected victory after a final round of 72 at The Oxfordshire yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARON

The South African Jeff Hawkes was delighted when he played his first four holes in one-under. At the short 5th he had the wind at his back and a relatively simple tee shot with a seven-iron, but he splashed it into the lake. After walking to a drop zone 120 yards from the pin, he did it again with his next four efforts. All hit with a sand wedge. An eventual 11 led to an outward half of 48, which

was the worst of anyone, but only by two shots from Ronan Rafferty. Hawkes remained cheerful, chasing a marshal's hat that was blowing in the wind when it would have been easier to ignore it, and got round in 85, three better than Rafferty. The worst of the day was Jean Van de Velde, who comes from the south of France and usually winters in

Martinique. "This was the most embarrassing day of my life," he said after paring the last to break 90. "But it should have been called off. The conditions they were stupid. Do they think that people come here to watch professionals taking over 80? I do not think so." "On the 7th hole I hit the ball to two feet, I line it up and then the wind blows and my ball rolls 12 feet away. I call the referee, I ask him is the course playable and he says yes. But I do not think so. And why cannot I replace my ball? That is a terrible rule. I don't give a damn if amateurs lose the weekly medal because of it, but if professionals lose £50,000 or £60,000 it needs to be changed." Van de Velde, hoping to birdie the 7th, ended up bogeying it. "Maybe I lose a lit-

tle interest after that." Sandy Lyle hit his opening tee shot 410 yards, downhill and downwind, admittedly, but within 40 yards of the pin. He got his birdie and, amid all the hubbub and carnage, was only one over on the 17th tee. Here he drove into a bunker, however, his second shot was badly pushed and his third finished in the lake. On the 18th he rushed a 3ft putt because the ball was trem-

Tennis

Muster completes Italian job

Stephen Blaney sees the relentless Austrian retain his title in Rome and sound a warning to the opposition in Paris

NOBODY could ever accuse Thomas Muster of careless nonchalance. Hard work, concentration and continual application have made him the world's most formidable clay-court player, and yesterday afternoon in the Foro Italico he duly defeated Richard Krajicek 6-2, 6-4, 3-6, 6-3 to win the Italian Open for the third time, and for the second successive year. There was always the chance, given the contrast in styles between the two players, that this would be a memorable match, but Krajicek's service was below the standard he had set himself on the way to this final and so, crucially, was his volleying. He attributed his errors at the net to his lack of sharpness. Muster's top-spin and the swirling Roman wind. The first two sets slipped away from the Dutchman rather easily in precisely an hour. But the tension increased sharply in the third. If all tennis matches represented the survival of the fittest, then Muster is a contender. Britain this morning after 2½ months' training in the United States, he will be able to tell his Olympic teammates that everything they have heard about the heat and humidity here is true. The greatest test Britain's world record holder and world champion in the triple jump faced at Saturday's IAAF Grand Prix meeting to celebrate the opening of the centennial Olympic stadium came not from the American Mike Conley or any other rival, but from the heat. Edwards held on to win with a season-best effort of 17.59 metres to extend his unbeaten record to 15 straight

mainly true, for on court he is almost barbarically single-minded. This does not necessarily make him much liked. He generates a considerable loathing among some critics bored with his attritional play. But even his fiercest detractors cannot help but admire the man. Those looking for early omens yesterday might have veered towards Krajicek when Muster fell over in the first game, but it was about the only time the Austrian was caught off-balance. Krajicek's serve was broken twice in the first set, and on the second occasion he gently bounced his racket off the clay and back into his hand four times in a controlled gesture of frustration. He continued to struggle in the second set, although there were indications that he could not stop this mean machine. Muster's reaction is simple: he runs faster, he chases harder and he applies incessant pressure with the accuracy of his shot, off both wings. "When faced with adversity Muster's reaction is simple: he runs faster, he chases harder and he applies incessant pressure with the accuracy of his shot, off both wings." "Krajicek had barely the time to digest his third-set triumph before Muster was at his throat and once against tearing great chunks out of the Dutchman's confidence. "He always plays the big points so well," said Krajicek. And so often.

Tears as Graf wins her ninth German Open

STEFFI GRAF wiped tears of happiness from her eyes as a Berlin crowd rose to acclaim her 4-6, 6-2, 7-5 victory over Karina Habudova in the final of the Women's German Open, a clay-court title she has now claimed nine times. The ovation from her compatriots proved that Graf's popularity has not diminished since her father was detained last August and later charged with evading taxes on millions of dollars of her earnings. "To play here was a difficult decision at first," Graf admitted, "but from the first day I knew it was the right decision. I am incredibly happy I made it." The world joint No. 1 was given a tough final by the unseeded Habudova, who showed no signs of nerves and took the opening set with a series of pinpoint shots down the lines. On her way to the final the 22-year-old Slovak had knocked out the highly ranked Swiss teenager Martina Hingis, the French No. 1 Mary Pierce, the No. 4 seed Anke Huber and Russia's Elena Likhovtseva. But she was unable to extend her string of upsets as Graf hit her stride. Inspired by a partisan crowd, the top seed force-fully took the second set, decisively broke service at 5-5 in the third, and served out for a morale-boosting victory in the run-up to the French Open beginning next Monday.

Hockey

Ipswich 0, Clifton 0 (3-0 on pens) Thompson first among equals

JO THOMPSON'S goal-keeping brilliance in penalty competitions once again proved decisive when she helped Ipswich win the AEWHA Cup for the first time after the first goalless final. Ipswich triumphed on penalties to complete a week-end double after lifting the veterans' title on Saturday. Clifton were odds-on to win the match went to strokes, having won three penalty competitions on their way to the final. But they never recovered when Thompson, Britain's Olympic goalkeeper, stepped out under real pressure. Clifton, without their injured Olympic player Tammy Miller, had to rely heavily on the speed of the improving Culliford in attack and negative play in defence. Ipswich showed more imagination and should have profited from their ability to make breaks on the right. It was from one of these in the last minute that they nearly snatched victory as Jane Smith deflected Lucy Young's cross just wide. Thompson, Catherine Copeland, Sarah Atcock, Young, Lister, Fry, Rawlinson, Smith, King, Sublette, Jones, Bennett, O'Bryan, Clifton, Burr, Brimble, Robertson, Baxendale, Swan, Wright, Madden, Murray, Culliford, Gallop, Sublette, Scullion, White, Brimble, Umpleby, G. Hughes and D. Hennig.

Athletics

Under-par Edwards wins despite melt-down

Duncan Mackay in Atlanta sees Britain's gold-medal prospect wilt in the heat

WHEN Jonathan Edwards lands back in Britain this morning after 2½ months' training in the United States, he will be able to tell his Olympic teammates that everything they have heard about the heat and humidity here is true. The greatest test Britain's world record holder and world champion in the triple jump faced at Saturday's IAAF Grand Prix meeting to celebrate the opening of the centennial Olympic stadium came not from the American Mike Conley or any other rival, but from the heat. Edwards held on to win with a season-best effort of 17.59 metres to extend his unbeaten record to 15 straight

400 metres. "It will be hotter in July," warned James Ellis, the stadium's medical officer. Edwards looked nervous about his first competition since redefining the boundaries of the event last season, when he leapt the world record of 18.29m, but he will surely draw encouragement from the fact that his spell over his rivals remains apparently unbroken. "I didn't feel I jumped very well," he said. "My technique was bad. I jumped poorly. I'm capable of jumping much further. Today poses as many questions as it answers." Only 60 days before the curtain rises on the Olympic Games, the Atlanta organisers must feel the same after a series of glitches afflicted this meeting. Athletes complained about the warm-up track being half a mile from the main stadium

close down Mitchell. "I feel like my old self again," he said. "Believe me, I haven't run anyone down like that for a while." The most exciting Olympic dress rehearsal came in the 200m, where Mike Johnson was pushed to the wire by Mike Marsh. The man who hopes to make Olympic history by repeating his world championships 200m-400m double did not edge ahead until the last 10 metres, even though Marsh was suffering from a slight hamstring twinge. Johnson's time of 19.93 was the best in the world this year, and Marsh, the 1992 Olympic champion, ran 19.88. The entire Olympic timetable was changed recently to accommodate Johnson's attack on the double, after the 400m he faces four 200m races in 30 hours. It is a demanding timetable even for Superman



Edwards... winning leap

Gunnell and Sanderson do what a golden girl's gotta do

THERE were heart-warming performances from Sally Gunnell and Tessa Sanderson, not so much golden girls as women of a certain age, despite the bitter cold at Bedford's International Games. For the 40-year-old Sanderson, a remarkable return to competition after taking off four years (and almost a stone in weight) has put her on course for a record sixth Olympics this summer in Atlanta. After beating the Olympic qualifying standard of 50 metres three times on Saturday — smashing the world-best mark for her age group by nine metres to boot — the 1984 Los Angeles gold medalist said: "This was a tester, to get the fright out of the way." Sanderson believes she has a genuine medal chance. "The technique is starting to come back. You never lose the art of throwing a javelin when you've been at the highest level. Once I reach the final I should perform." Gunnell, whose Achilles problems devastated last season, won her first opening air race of the year by covering the flat 400 metres in 52.96sec and declared herself fully over her operation. "I was tightening up quite a lot towards the end but in the conditions the time wasn't bad," she said. Gunnell, who will turn 30 during the Olympics, will have a flatter idea about her prospects of retaining her title in Atlanta after she competes in her first 400m hurdles race for 20 months in Jena, Germany next Saturday.

Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page.



Major shake-up by England selectors, page 13  
Ames survives the big blow, page 14

Injury headaches for Venables, page 15

# SportsGuardian

## FAVOURITES FALL AMONG THE WRECKAGE AT THE MONACO GRAND PRIX

Richard Williams sees a young Frenchman hit the jackpot in Monte Carlo

# Hill gives way to Panis in the streets

ONLY three cars were left running at the end of yesterday's Monaco Grand Prix, and none of them was driven by Damon Hill or Michael Schumacher. Run on wet roads and punctuated by frequent incidents, the race produced a first victory for Olivier Panis, who thus ended a 15-year drought for the Ligier team and became the first Frenchman to win this almost-French race in a French car since René Dreyfus in a Bugatti in 1930.

Second was David Coulthard's McLaren-Mercedes, only five seconds behind the Ligier-Mugen when the race was stopped after reaching the two-hour limit, with Johnny Herbert's Sauber-Ford half a minute further back in third. Heinz-Harald Frentzen's Sauber, Mika Salo's Tyrrell, Mika Hakkinen's McLaren and Eddie Irvine's Ferrari filled the remaining four positions, having covered sufficient distance to be classified as finishers, but all of them had stopped before the chequered flag came out.

Panis is a 29-year-old Granoblois whose talent has been evident since he arrived in Formula One two seasons

ago. He started yesterday's race from 14th position on the grid and deserved his win, although inevitably he relied to some extent on the misfortunes of others — notably Hill, who was in complete command when his engine blew just after half-distance.

Hill's path, in turn, had been cleared when he made a better start on the wet track than Schumacher, who had won the previous two editions of the race and was a strong favourite to bring the recent Ferrari renaissance to a climax yesterday.

Clearly annoyed at himself for wasting the advantage of

Benetton's Jean Alesi and Gerhard Berger. Behind them a degree of carnage spectacular even by Monaco's standards removed more than a third of the 21-car field within the first five laps.

Three cars — the Minardis of Giancarlo Fisichella and Pedro Lamy, who ran into each other, and the Footwork of Jos Verstappen — failed even to get round the first corner.

But Panis was already catching the eye. While others were simply trying to avoid the guard rails, he went past Brundie, Hakkinen and Herbert in the space of 15 laps

taken on a distinctly French tint, but Irvine remained insensible to their urgency. Panis, who could sense a good finish in the offing, decided not to wait. Coming down to the Station Hairpin he ran down the inside the Ferrari, nudging it into the barriers.

Irvine limped back to the pits and had his nose section changed. But before the Ferrari could wreak further damage, Hill's majestic progress had come to an end. On the 40th lap the red oil-pressure light winked a warning. Halfway through the tunnel the next time round, a cloud of smoke deprived him of certain victory in the race his father won five times. So ended the Williams team's six-race winning streak and a run of 16 victories for the Renault V10 engine.

As he climbed out, Hill clasped his gloves to his helmet in despair.

"It's a long time since an engine let me down," he said later. "It was all going brilliantly. Our strategy was perfect."

### Hill deprived of certain victory in the race his father won five times

pole position in front of tens of thousands of German and Italian fans, the world champion made a bad misjudgment less than a minute into the race, clouting the barrier at the downhill right-hander after the old Station Hairpin.

Seizing the opportunity as the world champion began to walk back to the pits, Hill pulled quickly away from the

— all the more remarkable since his car was heavy with a full tank of petrol, a risky strategy aimed at saving time by using his pit stops only to change tyres.

Meanwhile Berger retired with a broken gearbox, giving third place to Irvine, who was holding up a queue of nine cars covered by less than eight seconds with a display of obduracy that eventually degenerated into sheer pig-headedness. Frentzen was the first to lose patience, breaking his front wing against Irvine's rear wheels at Ste-Devote.

By the time Hill headed for the pits after 28 laps he had built up a 23-second lead over Alesi, allowing him to resume only just behind the Frenchman. Within two laps the Williams, now fitted with slick tyres to suit the drying track, had repossessed the Benetton and was drawing away again.

Panis was the chief beneficiary of the pit-stop sequence, leaving ahead of Coulthard to take fourth place, only to find that it was his turn to be blocked by Irvine. The blue of the marshals' warning flags suddenly seemed to have

Thereafter Panis, Coulthard and Herbert needed only to steer clear of danger, which meant avoiding Luca Badoer, who was fined \$5,000 for sending Villeneuve into the barriers and out of fourth place with eight laps to go, and Irvine, who spun at Schumacher's black spot and took Salo and Hakkinen with him.

Panis took his lap of honour with a large tricolour flying from the Ligier's cockpit. This is against the rules, but he should be forgiven. Yesterday's race may not have affected the higher narrative of the championship battle, but it made its own sweet little bit of history.

### The way they went

- THERE were 17 hard-luck tales in Monte Carlo yesterday:
- Lap 1: Schumacher (Ferrari) — hit guard rail.
  - Verstappen (Footwork-Hart) — hit guard rail.
  - Lap 2: Barrichello (Jordan-Ferguson) — hit guard rail.
  - Lamy (Minardi-Ford) and Fisichella (Minardi-Ford) — abandoned after collision.
  - Lap 4: Katayama (Tyrrell-Yamaha) — hit guard rail.
  - Lap 5: Rosset (Footwork-Hart) — hit guard rail after spin.
  - Lap 7: Dini (Ligier-Honda) — engine stalled after spin.
  - Lap 11: Berger (Benetton-

- Renault) — broken gearbox.
- Lap 32: Brundie (Jordan-Ferguson) — hit guard rail after spin.
- Lap 41: Hill (Williams-Renault) — blown engine.
- Lap 62: Alesi (Benetton-Renault) — broken rear suspension.
- Lap 67: Villeneuve (Williams-Renault) and Badoer (Forti-Ford) — collided.
- Lap 72: Irvine (Ferrari) — spun to a halt.
- Salo (Tyrrell-Yamaha) — hit Irvine.
- Hakkinen (McLaren-Mercedes) — hit Salo.



Flat out... Olivier Panis finds some space in residential Monte Carlo PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN MARSH

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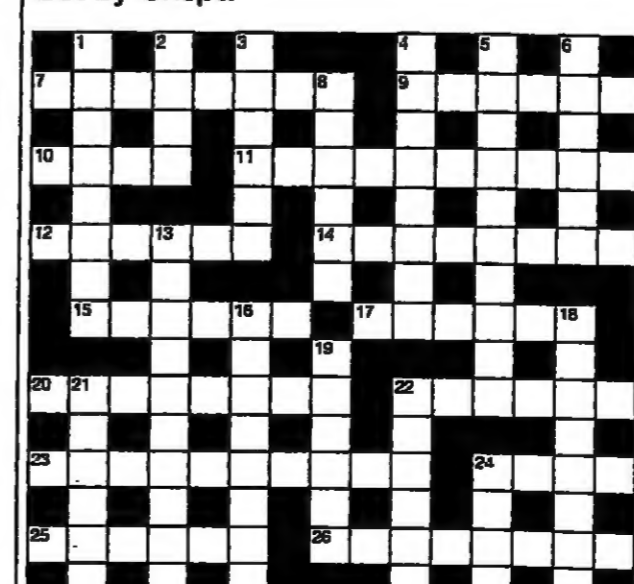
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### Guardian Crossword No 20,657

Set by Crispa



**Across**

7 Show record drop (8)  
9 Directors prepared for flotation? (6)  
10 Some fortunate Eskimos have running water (4)  
11 There is a way to get out of the flaming situation! (4-6)  
12 Twice left within range in a boat (6)  
14 A wild plant that's quite without equal (8)  
15 Worn-out English fellow going on holiday (6)  
17 Leave when there's no soft drink available (3,3)  
20 Where to plague the MPs in disavowal (6)  
22 Wipes off money in bad scare (6)  
23 Poles pretended to follow craft back — or did (10)

**Down**

24 The staff, beginning early, went on (4)  
25 Back a relentless union (6)  
26 Presented with more ties to be exchanged — so irritating! (8)

**Down**

1 Admire the sapient also (8)  
2 The ones in hand (4)  
3 About to bid for a strongbox (6)  
4 Inherited company accepting change of name, it appears (4,4)  
5 This is standard in "As You Like It" (10)  
6 A jerk holding the right work would give a certain degree of latitude (3)  
8 Engineers upset over phone being out of order (6)  
13 Blow the individual not doing anything the right way! (4-6)

**Winners of Prize Puzzles 20,650**  
This week's winners are Arwyn Thomas of Porthcawl, Mid Glamorgan, J. D. McLellan of Poole, Dorset, John Davies of Sittingbourne, Kent, Glyn Watkins of Porthcawl, Bristol and Ms. L. Mockett of Crofton, Surrey.

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